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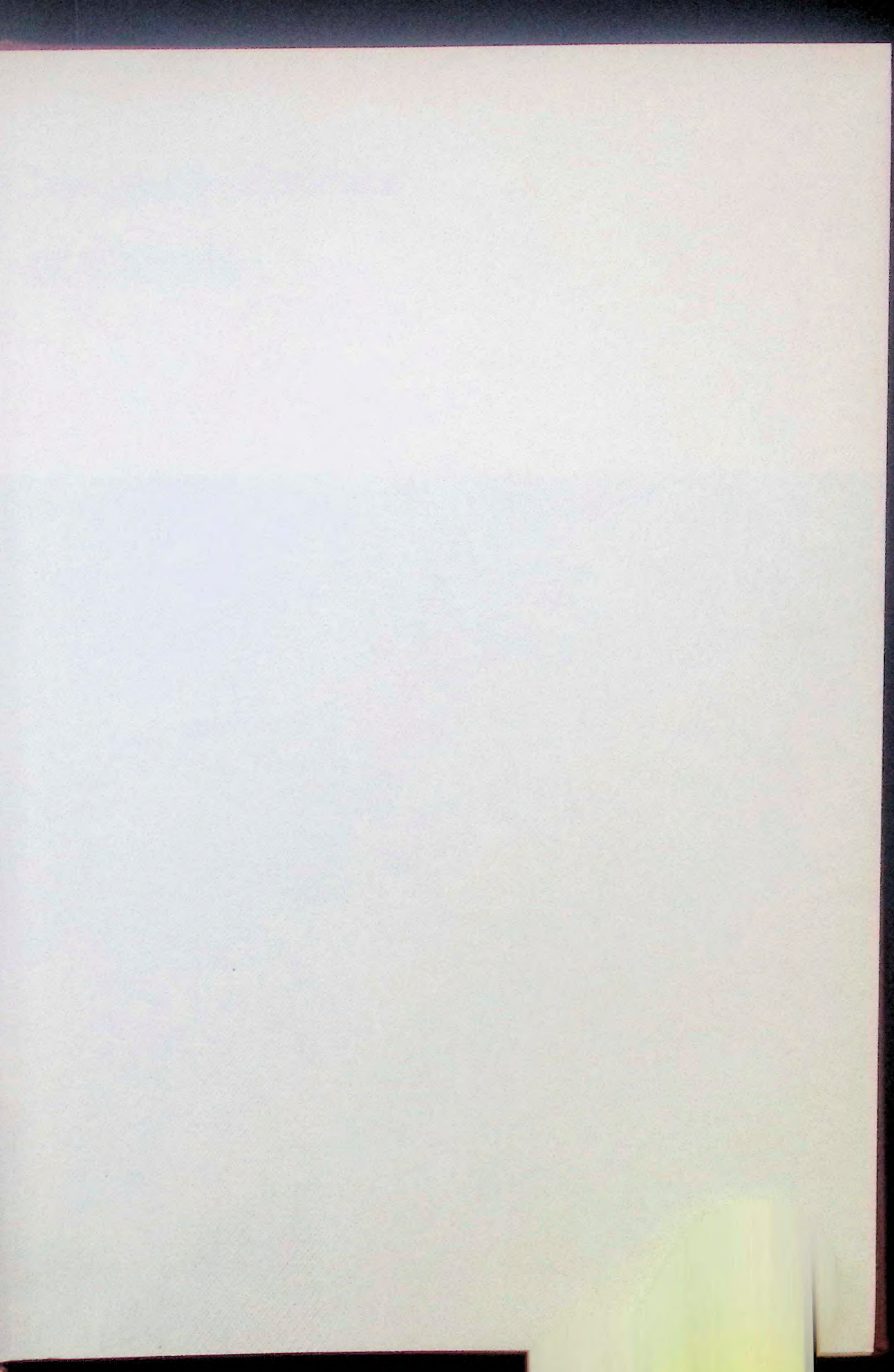
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THE MICMAC INDIANS OF RESTIGOUCHE:

History and Contemporary Description



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Secretary of State

THE MICMAC INDIANS OF RESTIGOUCHE:

History and Contemporary Description

by Philip K. Bock

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Preface

The purpose of this monograph is to describe the contemporary culture of a Micmac Indian Reserve, giving sufficient historical background to show significant continuities and discontinuities from aboriginal times to the present. It presents a portion of my doctoral dissertation (Bock, 1962), in which I went beyond the strictly ethnographic materials to develop a theory of 'structural description.' This theory integrates some concept and methods of descriptive linguistics with traditional ethnography (*see* Bock, 1964*b*). Only the empirical materials are presented here, but I hope that they will serve as documentation for future theoretical discussions as well as provide data of some intrinsic interest.

The field-work upon which the contemporary description is based was conducted between April and November, 1961, at the Restigouche Reserve, and most statements in Part II of the monograph refer to this period. During this period I also undertook a brief comparative survey of other Micmac reserves in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and spent one week in the state of Maine with an Indian potato-harvesting crew. Part of the field-work was supported by a grant from the Algonkin Project of the National Museum of Canada; I wish to acknowledge the help of the Museum, of former Chief Ethnologist Tom F. S. McFeat, and also of the late Clyde Kluckhohn, who originally suggested this research possibility to me.

Others who have generously given of their time include Dr. Wilson D. Wallis, Dr. Ruth Sawtell Wallis, and the members of my dissertation committee, Professors Evon Z. Vogt, A. R. Diebold, Jr., and George L. Miller, all of Harvard University.

Preparation of this manuscript for publication was aided by a Faculty Research Grant from the University of New Mexico.

I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of the many Band members and officials who, once their natural suspicions were allayed, gave their full and friendly co-operation to this often-confused ethnographer and his family. Our debt to the people of Restigouche is great. Special thanks are due to Chief Joseph W. Dedam and his Council, to Father Armand, O.F.M., Cap., to Agent L.J.-L. Bourassa, and to my good friend and companion Alphonse Metallic.

My wife, Layeh Bock, assisted me in so many different ways that no adequate acknowledgment can be framed. This monograph is dedicated to her.

ALBUQUERQUE
August 15, 1963

Résumé

La présente monographie a deux buts distincts: d'abord, elle relate l'histoire d'une Réserve indienne du Canada, et en deuxième lieu, elle décrit d'une façon assez détaillée l'état actuel des choses dans cette Réserve.

Dans la première partie, l'auteur remontant aux sources ethnographiques et historiques, reconstitue la culture primitive des Indiens Micmacs de l'est du Canada et expose les conséquences des premiers contacts de cette peuplade avec les Européens. Il explique comment les Micmacs qui avaient coutume de fréquenter la région de Restigouche, devinrent de plus en plus sédentaires sous l'influence de l'Eglise et du trafic des fourrures.

Les premiers Blancs avec qui les Micmacs entrèrent en contact furent les Français, auxquels ils étaient alliés, mais après la bataille de Restigouche en 1760, la région tomba sous la domination anglaise, puis au cours du XIX^e siècle, l'exploitation économique et la colonisation de la région prirent de plus en plus d'ampleur. A la suite de ces développements, le territoire des Micmacs s'amenuisa de plus en plus et après cent ans de domination anglaise, il était réduit à la superficie de la Réserve actuelle.

Au cours de cette *récente période de contact*, la vie semi-nomade des chasseurs et pêcheurs Micmacs subit des changements progressifs. En dépit de l'encouragement des milieux officiels, les Micmacs de Restigouche ne devinrent jamais de vrais agriculteurs, mais ils devinrent d'habiles bûcherons; il travaillaient dans la forêt et sur la rivière, se faisant des revenus supplémentaires comme guides ou comme manoeuvres.

En vingt ans, de 1890 à 1910, toutes sortes de changements eurent lieu dans la Réserve; ce fut la période transitoire de *modernisation*. Ces changements furent notamment l'établissement d'un monastère et d'un couvent dans la Réserve, l'adoption du scrutin secret pour élire les chefs, qui auparavant étaient choisis par consensus et à vie, la fondation d'une école indienne, dont le personnel enseignant était composé de *religieuses*, et enfin en 1905, la construction, dans la Réserve même, d'une scierie qui pendant vingt-cinq ans procura du travail à tous et assura une prospérité relative aux Micmacs. L'évolution sociale et économique mise en branle par ces changements influe encore sur la vie des habitants de la Réserve.

La deuxième partie est une description minutieuse de la situation à Restigouche en 1961, aux points de vue démographique, éducatif, économique, politique et social. L'auteur conclut en somme que la Réserve se transforme peu à peu, au point de ne devenir qu'une variante ethnique d'une quelconque localité rurale nord-américaine de classe pauvre. Il traite également de religion, des liens de parenté, des habitudes à table et au jeu, de langue, de musique et de folklore local. L'auteur donne aussi des commentaires sur les particularités qui distinguent Restigouche des localités voisines, ainsi que sur l'effet social, culturel et psychologique qui découle du fait *d'être Micmac*.

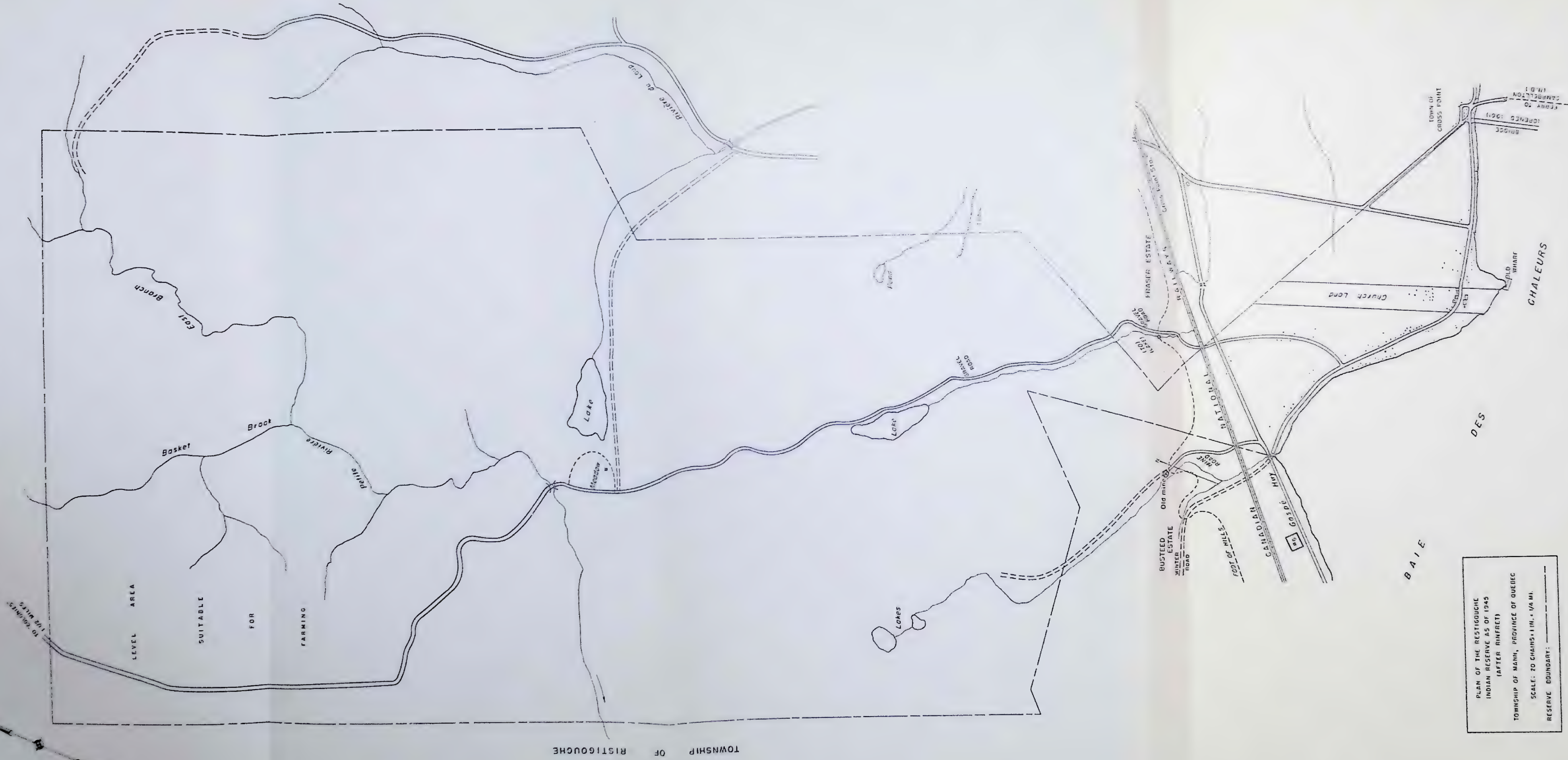
Phonetic Key

No attempt has been made to phonemicize the Micmac terms used, though it is evident that, e.g., the voicing of stops is non-contrastive. Special type symbols are noted below; other characters have the phonetic values assigned to them in Gleason (1955).

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Phonetic Equivalent</i>
A	[ə]
E	[ɛ]
I	[ɪ]
c	[ç]
G	[ɣ]
:	vowel length

PART I:

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION



PLAN OF THE RESTIGOUCHE
INDIAN RESERVE AS OF 1945
(AFTER RINERET)
TOWNSHIP OF MANH, PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
SCALE: TO CHANGING 1 IN. = 1 MI.
RESERVE BOUNDARY: ———

CHAPTER ONE

The Aboriginal Culture

For many hundreds of years the Micmac Indians have lived in a broad area surrounding the Gulf of the St. Lawrence River, including most of the present provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, as well as the Gaspé district of Quebec.¹ This is part of the culture area which Kroeber calls "North Atlantic Slope"; he characterizes it as

. . . an Algonkin area, containing the Abnaki and Micmac, perhaps also the Pennacook, and about coterminous with Maine, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The culture was simpler than in the next area [Middle Atlantic Slope], in dependence on its nonfarming subsistence basis. Maize was grown, but only to a subsidiary extent, being at the limits of its cultivability (1939:93). (Cf. Byers, 1946.)

Apparently the Micmac never grew maize, though an intriguing legend reported by LeClercq (1910:211-213) tells how tobacco and Indian corn were first given to a man who journeyed to the land of the dead to recover the soul of his son: ". . . they cultivated with success the Indian corn and tobacco for the space of several years. But the negligence of their ancestors, say they, deprives them today of all these conveniences so useful and so essential to the nation as a whole." Wallis and Wallis (1955:20) doubt the authenticity of this tale, attributing it to the moralizing of the French priests. Bailey (1937:58) suggests that the 'scramble for furs' caused the abandonment of what little agriculture had been practised (cf. Hoffman, 1955a:704).

The Micmac country was rich in game and fish. "They were a typical migratory people who lived in the woods during the winter months hunting moose, caribou, and porcupine, then moved down to the seashore in spring to gather shell-fish, to fish at the mouths of the rivers, and to hunt the seal near the coast" (Jenness, 1958:267-8). According to the early missionaries, food was usually plentiful, though failure to put aside enough for the winter often resulted in serious famine:

But, after all, our Gaspesians are of those people who take no thought for the morrow, though this is much more because of laziness than through zeal in obeying the . . . Holy Gospel. They are convinced that fifteen to twenty lumps of dried meat, or of fish dried or cured in the smoke, are more than enough to support them for the space of five to six months. Since, however, they are a people of good appetite, they consume their provisions very much sooner than they expect. This exposes them to the danger of dying from hunger, through lack of the provisions which they could easily possess in abundance if they would only take the trouble to gather it (LeClercq, 1910:110).

¹Bernard Hoffman, in his thesis (1955a), has given exhaustive consideration to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources on Micmac ethnography, with special attention to pre- and Contact tribal distribution and ecology (cf. Hoffman, 1955b). He argues that Micmac occupancy of the Gaspé is relatively recent, dating from the mid-sixteenth century cessation of hostilities with the *kwEdEc*, who are identified by him as the Laurentian Iroquois. Hoffman's materials came to my attention only after this chapter had been completed.

During such periods, when "the season was not yet suitable for hunting, nor the rivers in condition for fishing," they were reduced to eating "curdled blood, scrapings of skin, old moccasins, and a thousand other things incompatible with the life of man," including, on extreme occasions, one another (LeClercq, 1910:111 ff.).

But nature was usually bountiful, and the Micmac had a simple but effective technology for reaping the harvest. They stalked moose and caribou on snowshoes, with spears and arrows. They put out to sea in birchbark canoes for porpoises or seals, and glided up and down the many rivers in search of "salmon, of bass, of trout, and of plenty of other fish and of waterfowl which serve as the usual food of the Indians" (LeClercq, 1910:110).

The social organization was not at all complex. Jenness states that "the tribe was divided into several *exogamous clans*, each having its own symbols which its members tattooed on their persons, painted or worked in porcupine quills on their clothing, carved into ornaments to wear on their chests, and painted on their canoes, snowshoes, and other possessions" (1958:268, italics added). But he offers no evidence for this interpretation, and historical records indicate only that these symbols were associated with geographical divisions of the tribe, e.g., the salmon with the Restigouche band and a cross-like form with the Miramichi Band. (For an intriguing discussion of the source of this latter symbol — which greatly impressed the early missionaries — see W. F. Ganong's introduction to LeClercq, 1910; also, cf. Mechling, 1917:180 ff., who supports the notion of exogamy.)

Speck's first-hand investigations led him to the conclusion that, "in contrast with the north central Algonkians . . . there is no intercrossing among the Micmac of a clan organization with the family group. Neither exogamy nor other elements of group totemism are now found here. . . ." As for the symbols, he points out that "It is difficult, when we encounter such references, to decide whether they are to be understood . . . as the emblems of former gentile or of family groups, or whether they pertain to bands and tribes in the social or linguistic sense" (Speck, 1922:87, 96).

My preference is for the latter interpretation. From the available evidence, early Micmac social organization seems to fall quite naturally into one of the classifications given by Julian Steward:

In Canada, the composite hunting band occurred in an area of low population density and of primary reliance upon large herds of migratory game. Like the patrilineal band, it is politically autonomous and controls the principal resources in its hunting territory, but it is much larger than the patrilineal band and hence lacks band exogamy, patrilocal residence after marriage, and patrilineality. It consists of many unrelated families which may intermarry within the band.

The political unit was the band, which generally numbered several hundred individuals. Each band had a patrilineal chief, usually it held seasonal festivals, and often it was slightly distinctive dialectically (1955:143-4).

I agree with Leacock's thesis (1954) that family ownership of plots was a post-Contact development. In any case, it is doubtful that this practice was ever very important to the Micmac. Even Speck remarked of the Micmac that their "family hunting territories seem to be less permanent, less hereditary, than elsewhere, and the judicial power of the chief in the reassignment

of territory seems to be rather more definite" (1922:86). LeClercq, writing of Restigouche in the late 1670's, is quite explicit on this point:

The occupation of this chief was to assign the places for hunting and to take the furs of the Indians, giving them in return whatever they needed. . . . It is the right of the head of the nation, according to the customs of the country . . . to distribute the places of hunting to each individual. It is not permitted to any Indian to overstep the bounds and limits of the region which shall have been assigned to him in the assemblies of the elders. These are held in autumn and spring expressly to make this assignment (1910:235, 237).

At the time of LeClercq's mission to the Micmacs, some trade in furs had been carried on in the Gaspé area for more than 140 years, for when Cartier sailed into the Bay of Chaleur in 1534, a group of Indians (probably Micmac) in canoes tried to attract his attention by exhibiting furs which they held up on sticks. When allowed to board his vessel, they immediately proceeded to barter everything they possessed for European goods. I shall return to the fur trade in the next chapter.

The Micmac speak an 'Algonkian' language. Michelson classified Micmac (together with Abnaki and Pennacook) in two different ways: sometimes as an Eastern sub-type, as opposed to a broad Central sub-type, and sometimes as a sub-group of the Cree type of Eastern-Central Algonkin. Jenness states that ". . . their dialect was so different from those of the tribes around them, and from the Algonkian dialects spoken about the Great Lakes, that it suggests they may have been late intruders into the Maritimes, coming perhaps from the northwest" (1958:268). This is probably based on a conjecture of Siebert's (1940) concerning a connection between Micmac and northern Central Algonkian (Cree, etc.). Kroeber (1959:260) has recently suggested that the entire central-eastern block of Algonkins "may have radiated out over their vast speech area in a comparatively short time, perhaps within one to two thousand years." Jenness does not give any time estimate, but in view of the cultural differences between the northwestern and the Atlantic Slope tribes the Micmac intrusion certainly cannot be too recent.¹ Some significant features of ritual and folklore are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 — SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NORTHWESTERN AND ATLANTIC SLOPE CULTURE AREAS

<i>TRAIT</i> (<i>Sources</i>)	<i>NORTHWEST AREA</i> <i>Cree</i>	<i>ATLANTIC SLOPE AREA</i> <i>Micmac, Malecite,</i> <i>Passamaquoddy</i>
1. Trickster-transformer (Fisher, 1946:248-51)	Tcikapis; Nanabozho	Gluskap
2. Adolescent Rituals (Flannery, 1946:264; Jenness, 1958:269)	Guardian Spirit Complex	No evidence; possibly absent
3. Shaking Tent Rite (Flannery, 1946:265)	Present	Absent

¹Hoffman (1955a:708) concludes after an extensive comparative investigation that "there seems no doubt that the Micmac and the Central Algonquians once formed a common group and occupied a single area."

Contact between the Micmac and their neighbours seems to have been predominantly hostile. The Micmac fought with the Malecite, the Penobscot, the Montagnais-Naskapi, and the Iroquois; they raided the Eskimo, sometimes taking slaves (according to one account); they also fought with, and later helped to exterminate, the Beothuk of Newfoundland. Themselves they called *Elnu*, 'the people,' and within the tribe peace, hospitality, and co-operation were the rule.

The extensive river systems made communication among the bands easy, and travel between bands was probably quite frequent. "Hunting, fishing, trade, and war took them to the shores of the St. Lawrence at Rivière-du-Loup and Tadoussac, into the gulf to Anticosti Island, and along the north shore to Labrador" (Wallis and Wallis, 1955:16). The tribal population was estimated by an early missionary as between 2,000 and 3,500.

There were few other traits that distinguished the Micmac from their neighbours: "Like most Algonkian tribes they lived in conical wigwams covered with birch bark, and they made canoes and household utensils from the same material; but they manufactured also large wooden troughs for boiling their food" (Jenness, 1958:268). The 'troughs' referred to were distinctive wooden 'kettles' hollowed out of the stumps of large fallen trees by burning and cutting with stone axes. These huge stationary kettles were used for stone-boiling, and their location often determined camping sites (Denys, 1908:401-2).

Genealogies were recited at marriages and at funerals. Polygyny was fairly common and a period of bride service was required before the first marriage. ". . . they take as many women as they please provided that they are good hunters. . . . One sees Indians who have two or three wives pregnant at the same time; it is their greatest joy to have a large number of children" (Denys, 1908:410-11). Shamans performed cures by prayer and sucking. When they failed, "the Indians wrapped their dead in birchbark rolls, deposited them, seated as in life, within round, shallow graves, and burnt, or buried with them, all their implements and utensils to serve their needs in the after life" (Jenness, 1958:269). Varying accounts of burial practices are given by different authors (cf. Denys, 1908: 438, 439 fn.). These may be regional variations, or they may illustrate a surprising plasticity of funerary rites similar to that noted by Kroeber (1927) among the California Indians.

The preceding brief characterization of aboriginal Micmac culture will serve as a base-line from which to view the effects of more than 400 years of acculturation. In tracing the events of the following centuries, I shall focus more and more on the Restigouche area as its history diverges from that of the Micmac country as a whole, leading to the survey of the contemporary community.

The post-Contact history of the Micmac can easily be divided into several periods, though the dates of these periods vary for different sub-groups. For the northern area, the 'French Period,' from the sixteenth century to the Battle of Restigouche in 1760, will be considered the 'Early Contact Period.' The 'Later Contact Period' begins in 1760, lasting until 1900 when, within a period of five years, fundamental political, economic, and educational changes took place at Restigouche which mark the transition into the 'Recent Period.'

CHAPTER TWO

The Early Contact Period¹

As noted above, by the time of Cartier's voyage in 1534 the eastern bands of Micmac had certainly had some contact with the Europeans who came to explore the area or to exploit the great fisheries of Newfoundland.

But the collision between aboriginal and European cultures cannot have been violent or extensive before 1534 when . . . with the advent of Cartier the period of occasional contact gave way to an era of almost steady infiltration of European traits into the culture areas of the Atlantic provinces.

The Micmac . . . were to develop the habit of barter with Europeans, some of whom may occasionally have passed a winter among the native bands. They were gradually to become more aware of a civilization that had little or nothing in common with their own; a more complex material culture; a specialized European conception of property of which they at first had no notion; a society which was in general more various, but in some respects less rigid than theirs; and a religion which, in its metaphysical and especially in its social aspects, was completely alien to their comprehension (Bailey, 1937:5-6).

During the sixteenth century, fishing for cod was the most important European interest in the area with which we are concerned. As the techniques of dry-fishing were developed in the second half of the century, contacts between the Europeans and the Micmac of Cape Breton increased because of the need for good harbours and timber for staging. At the same time, the fur trade was penetrating the area.

Despite rivalries among the Indians and the attempts of European monopolies to control this trade, it grew and flourished in the seventeenth century. "The trader encouraged the best hunters, exhorted the Indians to hunt beaver, and directed their fleets of canoes to the rendezvous. Alliances were formed and wars were favoured to increase the supply of fur. Goods were traded which would encourage the Indian to hunt beaver" (Innis, 1930:13).

Gradually, the musket replaced the bow and arrow, metal tools were adopted, and European clothing displaced native furs as wearing apparel. This displacement of materials alone meant a tremendous change in the way of life of the Indians. But the fur trade did not take place in a vacuum. Before long, the eastern Algonkian tribes were caught up in the struggle for power among the French, English, and Dutch. Bailey fully documents the events of this period. The Micmac remained staunch allies of the French;

¹In the following two sections I shall draw heavily on two important sources. A. G. Bailey's "The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700" is a lucid and well-balanced account which is based on historical and anthropological materials. It covers a wide range of topics from material culture to religion, and from drunkenness to folklore. Father Pacifique worked among the Micmac for more than fifty years. His "Restigouche, Metropole des Micmacs" summarizes the principal sources on the history of the Restigouche district; quotations from this work are in my own translation. Readers who desire more complete information about Micmac ethnography are referred to Wallis and Wallis (1955) for both content and bibliography, or to Hoffman (1955a).

they were often used as tools against the British and their allies, and many times they suffered from the furious onslaught of the Iroquois. Also, in 1646 the Etchemins (Malecites?) "went to war with the Gaspé Micmac, although both were at the time nominally allied to the French" (Bailey, 1937:28). Thirty years later, these two tribes came together in large numbers at Rivière du Loup for trading purposes, though there was still enmity between them (Ibid., 40).¹

By 1659 the English controlled the Atlantic coast as far north as New England and were casting their eyes on Acadia. They were able to offer higher prices and better trade goods for furs, but their rough methods and the fact that many of the Canadian Indians had been converted to Roman Catholicism worked against them. The military and political history of this period is complex and not directly relevant to our purposes, but we may note that as late as 1697 "Governor Villebon of Acadia dispatched a party of Micmac from Nashwaak with powder, lead, and rations to raid any English encampments along the coast that might be available for plunder" (Ibid., 33).

Nevertheless, the importance of the Maritimes to the fur trade was declining. Because of their relative geographical isolation, the Micmac bands were never significant middlemen in the trade.

With the introduction of European cultural traits the supply of beaver . . . tended to become depleted, so that when the occupation of carrier was denied to them, their position became a sorry one. The loss of economic independence which resulted from these conditions, was made worse by a decline in the demand for beaver. . . . Throughout the 18th century the French continued to cultivate what remained of the eastern Algonkians for military reasons, but even missionary effort waned, and their day . . . was definitely over (Ibid., 45).

The Micmac had at first rejected brandy and other liquors as 'poisons.' But they soon became extremely fond of them and were even responsible for the spread of the drinking habit to other tribes. The liquor trade was alternately forbidden and encouraged by the government. One argument for the trade was the fact that the English and Dutch would gain a great advantage in the fur trade if the French were forbidden to sell liquor. The Church took a consistent stand against it. In 1660 "Bishop Laval issued a bill of excommunication against all those who were found selling liquor to the Indians." "In 1663, the Jesuits declared that the excessive drunkenness had ruined their missions" in the Bay of Chaleur area (Ibid., 67, 68, 71), and the missions were closed.

The most sordid picture of all is painted by [Nicholas] Denys, and it is recommended to any who have any doubts concerning the degrading influence which liquor had on every aspect of the native life. The Indians were trading themselves into destitution. Fraud in trade, the wholesale seduction of women by the fishermen, the promotion of disease and civil strife, the disintegration of the group spirit and the loss of the will to live, all resulted from the deliberate debauching of the Micmac with wine and brandy (Bailey 1937:71). . . . From the scientific viewpoint it is probably true to say that liquor was one of the chief causes of the decline and approximate extinction of the native population (Ibid., 74).

¹ On the identity of the *Etchemins*, see Hoffman, 1955b.

Liquor, the new diseases, a European mode of dress, and the unbalancing of the native diet with European foods combined to further depopulate the area. Bailey quotes a medical authority to the effect that "the infectious diseases, such as measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, chickenpox, smallpox, typhus, typhoid, malaria, and yellow fever, as well as the venereal diseases, and possibly tuberculosis, were importations" (Bailey, 1937:75). Not only did the Indians lack immunity to any of these diseases, but they were exposed to periodic epidemics caused by the crowded living conditions of some of the new 'religious communities.' "In 1684, at the instigation of LeClercq, a Micmac migration was made to the Jesuit community at Sillery, but 'God . . . granted the favour to most of these Gaspesians to die at Sillery . . . some time after having arrived there.'" (Ibid., 78)

From this point, in relation to the remaining topics, we shall be able to focus more closely on the Restigouche - Chaleur Bay district, for knowledge of this area is relatively complete, thanks to the writings of Denys and LeClercq and the researches of Father Pacifique. Wallis (1959) has recently published an article on the "Historical Background of the Micmac Indians of Canada," which quotes in great detail from the hard-to-locate original sources, as does his book (Wallis and Wallis, 1955), so that it is not necessary to deal in detail with general ethnological problems. We shall deal mainly with missionary activities and socio-economic conditions at Restigouche. The main source for this information is our translation of Father Pacifique's essay on "Restigouche, Metropole des Micmacs. . . ."

Though LeClercq is the best known because of his writings, Father Pacifique calls him the "fourth of the great apostles to the Micmac" (1926:118). The first was Father Sebastien, Récollet, who arrived in Acadia in 1619 and in 1620 opened a mission for the Indians of the Bay of Chaleur. He died in 1623. There was no missionary activity in this area from 1623 until 1635, when two Jesuits, Father Charles Turgis and Father Charles du Marche, came to Miscou to minister to twenty-three French people and, hopefully, to convert 'les sauvages.' But according to LeJeune, in his Relation of 1637, they had after three years baptized "only two little Indians."

"Soon others came to minister to the Micmac, but for many years their efforts had no apparent results. Sickness, attributed to the hardships, caused most of the early 'Black Gowns' to abandon effort at Christianization" (Wallis, 1959:43). Finally, Father A. Richard, together with Father Martin de Lyonne, established an enduring mission. Father Richard visited Restigouche in the spring of 1642 and wrote to his superior that he "was consoled to see a great cross which they have planted before their meeting house." He was encouraged to live with them in order to instruct them in the faith. Father Martin joined him in 1644, in which year, despite illness, they finally succeeded in baptizing several 'savages,' including a Chief 'Joseph.' The following year, Chief 'Dennis' and his family were baptized. The number of converts rose to forty by 1647. These priests were followed by Father Balthazar who, from 1648 to 1654, was resident missionary at Nipisquit (now Bathurst, N.B.) and around Chaleur Bay.

Since, as noted above, the Jesuit missions were closed in the 1660's because of the drunkenness of the Indians, we may assume that the fur trade and liquor trade had been flourishing for some time. During this period and up

until 1745, the main assembly point for the Micmac of the Restigouche district was *Tjigog*, today Atholville, N.B. There were formerly chiefs at Pokemouche (near Burnt Church, N.B.), Miramichi (probably near the present Red Bank Reserve), Nipisquit, and perhaps at Percé. At *Tjigog* were a grand chief and several sub-chiefs.

Father Chrétien LeClercq came to New France in 1675 and stayed among the Micmac (his 'Gaspésiens') until 1687, except for a brief return to France in 1680-81. LeClercq's *New Relation of Gaspésie*, in the superb Ganong edition, is our primary source for this period.

Father LeClercq made his "first visit to the Savages of Restigouche, whom he found almost all baptized" in the summer of 1676 (Pacifique, 1926:116). Father Pacifique believes that, "When LeClercq speaks of Gaspésiens in his relations, one must understand above all the savages of Restigouche" (Ibid., 118). But I fear that the good Father's enthusiasm for his home mission overwhelmed his historical judgment here, for two reasons: first, the term 'Gaspésie' was applied on the older maps (such as that of Father Jumeau who followed LeClercq) to the whole area around the Gulf of St. Lawrence; second, Father Pacifique quotes, as applying to Restigouche, several paragraphs which come from a chapter in LeClercq specifically devoted to the 'Cross Bearer' or Miramichi Micmac.

LeClercq travelled widely in Micmac country; he was also responsible for the missions at Percé and Nipisquit. But much of his book is applicable to the Indians at Restigouche, and in some cases quite specifically so, as in the quote on page 5 above, concerning the functions of the chief. He tells of one occasion when he went to Quebec to see his superior, promising the Indians of Restigouche, "where I then made my mission," that he would "return in a moon and a half, that is to say, in six weeks." After two months had passed, their leaders sent "two canoes for me, with orders to the Indians, who were their deputies for the purpose, to testify to me the great desire they had that I should return as promptly as possible, and to ask me whether the moons at Quebec were longer than those of Restigouche. . . . After fifteen days of successful navigation we arrived at the wigwams of our Indians, who received me with great joy" (LeClercq, 1910:127-131).

LeClercq was intensely ambivalent about his flock. He admired their hospitality and generosity (Ibid., 238, 245), their lack of ambition or avarice (Ibid., 242), and their character: "They are sweet tempered, peaceable, and tractable, having much charity, affection, and tenderness for one another. . . . Our Gaspésian women . . . are very modest, chaste, and continent . . ." (Ibid., 250). He recognized that they had been corrupted by the traders and that the liquor trade had led to all kinds of crimes and disorders. But at the same time he found them "naturally fickle, mockers, slanderers, and dissimulators. They are not true to their promises except in so far as they are restrained . . . they do not know what civility is, nor decorum" (Ibid., 252). It was LeClercq who first developed a system of hieroglyphic writing for the Micmac language, which he used for teaching catechism and liturgy to the Indians. He despaired of the ultimate salvation of their souls, for though they had soon adopted the externals of the faith, "the number is very small of those who live according to the rules of Christianity, and who do not fall back into the irregularities of a brutal and wild life, which they do either

because of the natural insensibility of these people to matters concerning their salvation, or by reason of drunkenness, of their delusions, of their superstitions, and other considerable defects . . ." (Ibid., 193).

The priests, of course, had little understanding of native beliefs and no sympathy for the aboriginal religion, which was a curious compound of Algonkian 'animism' and shamanism with sun-worship (cf. Hoffman, 1955a: 707). The missionaries reinterpreted as much as they could in terms of Christianity, though stopping short of identifying Gluskap with Jesus, and they did their best to discredit the 'jugglers' (shamans) on every occasion. By the time of LeClercq, many of the 'superstitions' already had a Christian content.

His ministry must have been effective for, according to Pacifique (1926: 123), after his final departure in 1687 there was a fairly sedentary community on the Restigouche which "comprised 60 families of resident savages, four hundred souls." In addition, there were three French families, and a house and a store belonging to Richard Denys de Fronsac (nephew of Nicholas Denys), who had several men employed in agriculture and commerce with the Indians.

Tjigog was ultimately included in the seigneurie of Miramichi, though with the understanding that the Indians should not be disturbed in their hunting or fishing, and from 1700 to 1760 they "continued to traffic in peace with the French post at the Pointe Des Sauvage" (Pacifique, 1926:127). The great abundance of salmon doubtless compensated to some extent for the depletion of beaver and other fur-bearing animals which had taken place during the preceding century.

It is not clear whether the Restigouche Micmac participated in the Wabanaki Confederacy, which became active about this time. As Wallis and Wallis point out (1955:224), the Micmac tribe "had been the weakest and the newest member, called 'the younger brothers,' a position symbolized in the Caughnawaga meetings by putting the oldest Micmac present on a cradleboard . . . fed like a baby, for an entire day." Speck said the strength of the Confederacy among the Micmac decreased from west to east, yet in 1915 he was able to find vestiges of that strength only in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. I could learn nothing about the Confederacy at Restigouche (the westernmost district). According to tradition, the ancestor of one of the families now dominant on Restigouche Reserve came from Oldtown, Maine, about the beginning of the nineteenth century. This may be significant since Oldtown had been "the capital of the eastern branch" of the Confederacy (Wallis and Wallis, 1955:223).

LeClercq was succeeded by his assistant, Father Claude Moreau. During the early eighteenth century the Restigouche Micmac were visited by various Récollet missionaries and by the famous Abbé Maillard. Maillard wrote a Micmac grammar and prayer book and was responsible for the renewed interest in and spread of LeClercq's hieroglyphics (which he altered slightly and claimed as his own).

Records for this period are scant, but it is known that a French fort was built on the north shore of the Bay about 1740, and around 1745, possibly on the advice of Maillard, the village of *Tjigog* was moved to the north shore at the site of the present-day Restigouche Reserve. A new chapel was con-

structed and dedicated to Ste. Anne. About the same time, a village of Acadian refugees was established at Pointe à la Garde, only eight miles east of the Indian village. The English had been advancing steadily into Nova Scotia, and it is probable that, because of its secluded position, this district, "almost unknown up to now, took on a greater importance from the point of view of colonization" (Pacifique, 1926:128). In 1759 the parish of Ste. Anne de Ristigouche was founded.

This French colonization was to be short lived, for the Acadian village was destroyed and 800 inhabitants were taken prisoner during the Battle of Restigouche in July 1760. This battle, coming ten months after the fall of Quebec, was indeed "the scene of the last effort of France in Canada." Pacifique gives a detailed account of the battle (Ibid., 130-147), which need not concern us here except to note that the French forces were totally destroyed. The following October, Major Elliot, the British commander, came to Restigouche to take charge of the situation. He describes the village as consisting of about 100 Micmac Indians (Pacifique, 1926, p. 146, says 250 would be a better estimate). Elliot reported that he made peace "with the principals among them, burying the hatchet and giving them several presents and provisions." He also mentions the presence of Norman fishermen and Malecites along with the Acadian and military prisoners.

The withdrawal of the prisoners left the Micmac practically alone in the district. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 affirmed the French capitulation and gave all of Canada to England. The Articles of Capitulation of September 1760 had confirmed a number of Indian reserves "that had been set apart from time to time during the French colonial period" (Harper, 1947:132), but Restigouche was not among them. In general, the French had begged the question of Indian title.

They had, in fact, no settled, well-defined policy. It was assumed that when a tribe or band of Indians assented to French rule, the title to their land passed to the French sovereign, including their rights of occupancy. . . [The King] bestowed enormous grants of territory in the New World upon individuals and trading companies, without any mention of the aboriginal peoples (Harper, 1947:131).

This policy had been successful in the Maritime area mainly because the French had been interested in the fur trade rather than in agriculture, and the Indians were glad to have the forts and trading posts and to be able to get European goods. The British policy had been to make grants of land, leaving the grantees free to deal with the Indians as they wished; but this had led to violent conflicts in the Atlantic colonies, and, in the same year as the Treaty of Paris, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 established a new Indian policy. Though it was originally intended to apply only to certain areas,

The Proclamation . . . laid the foundation of four great principles which became embedded in Canada's treaty system: that the Indians possess occupancy rights to all land which they have not formally surrendered; that no land claimed by Indians may be granted to whites until formally surrendered; that the government assumes the responsibility of evicting all persons unlawfully occupying Indian lands; and that surrenders of Indian land may be made only to the Crown, and for a consideration (Harper, 1947:134).

As we shall see, however, in the ensuing period, the lack of a definitive treaty, the greed of the new colonists, and the corruption of officials led to

the violation of all these principles and the steady reduction of the Restigouche Reserve to its present size.

To summarize the events of the Early Contact Period: We have seen how contacts began with intermittent trading with Europeans whose main interest was fishing. The demand for European goods, which rapidly displaced many native materials, grew with the expansion of the fur trade. Involvement in imperialistic wars contributed to the depopulation of the Algonkian tribes, and this, together with the effects of disease and the efforts of the missionaries, led to large-scale social disintegration.

The Restigouche Micmac were doubtless affected by all these processes; they survived into the eighteenth century as a smaller, more localized group, reintegrated around a Roman Catholic core, but still following a hunting and trapping life. The presence of great commercial salmon resources in their area may have softened the effects of the devaluation of the beaver pelts. But a new era of intensive contact was dawning, and in many ways the worst was yet to come.

CHAPTER THREE

The Later Contact Period

Following the Battle of Restigouche there was a period of quiet for several years.

Although Great Britain obtained peaceable possession of the Province of New Brunswick in the year 1760, the northern part of it may be said to have reverted to the Indians. No notice being taken of it, for the first four years, by its new masters, the Micmacs again became the lords of their paternal wilderness (Cooney, 1832:32).

Settlers slowly drifted into the Gaspé district. In 1772 Father Le Brosse, a Jesuit missionary, blessed and rededicated the Indian church, and the following year an Acadian priest, Abbé Bourg, became curé of Carleton, serving there and at Restigouche until 1795. The first English commercial establishment in the area was that of Admiral Walker at Bathurst, with a sub-office at Restigouche; it was destroyed in 1776 by American corsairs. The Grand Chief of the Restigouche Band, Joseph Claude, was solicited in 1778 on behalf of the American rebels, but M. Bourg intervened. Wallis (1959:55) states that "The Abbé Bourg, missionary at Carleton and Restigouche . . . succeeded in keeping peace in these Gaspé bands and thereby earned freedom for these missions and abolition of the *lois d'exceptions* against Roman Catholics." He cites Pacifique as his authority, but either a misprint or a misinterpretation is involved, for Wallis associates this episode with the pre-1760 French-British rivalry, long before the coming of Bourg to this area.

Also during the period under discussion, two English merchants, Messrs. Schoolbred and Smith, established a business (in trading salmon or pelts) at the head of the tide, with greater success than had Admiral Walker. But the great wave of immigration, including colonists from Scotland and Prince Edward Island as well as American loyalists, dates from 1783. Throughout the area, these new immigrants "obliged the government to establish reserves for the Indians." The Micmac were soon "surrounded by more ambitious farmers and merchants who became . . . by the force of things, dominant, and caused the hunting and fishing in the manner of the savage to disappear, by consequence taking away from them their ancient mode of existence" (Pacifique, 1926:153). Pacifique cites a report of 1783 stating that the 'savages of Restigouche' had claimed the plains at Nouvelle, as well as all other plains on the Restigouche, which were then being eyed enviously for agricultural purposes by European colonists.

A document preserved in the Restigouche archives testifies that in 1787 Grand Chief Claude rented some land to a white man, stating that "Pte. Bourdon belongs to me by right of my father who has always lived in this place. . . ." Thus the Indians still considered themselves owners by right of occupancy, a notion which was soon to be seriously challenged, for in that

same year there came from Massachusetts an American loyalist named Edward Isaac Mann. This man of action occupied the prairies just east of the Indian village even before receiving the concession which he demanded from the government.

In October 1787, Lieutenant-Governor Cox ordered the surveyor Vondenvelden to measure a lot for Mr. Mann. Vondenvelden's report shows a line running *45 degrees west* from the westernmost point on the river claimed by Mann, near the present town of Cross Point. A later survey shows the line running at the more usual 90-degree angle from the river, and, to confuse the issue further, there are *two* Orders-in-Council, one confirming one line and one the other.

The affair must have dragged on for many years; finally, the Commissioners of Gaspé awarded Mann the larger lot. The Indians protested fraud and claimed return of the land. They were opposed by Mann and by Robert Ferguson, owner of the only saw- and grist-mill in the area (cf. Cooney, 1832). In 1824 the white men got everything they desired. The Indians accepted a "terrain of 100 arpents reserved for the use of the missionary on their remaining lot" (Pacifique, 1926:154). In 1826 the government confirmed the decision in favour of Mann. There were to be still further reductions of the Reserve.

Chief Claude never regained the land he had 'rented,' for after 1800 Pointe Bourdon passed through several hands into the Busteed estate. This holding was later enlarged, according to an informant, by purchases made from the women of the Reserve when their husbands were away in the lumber camps. The line on the east also moved closer: when the Mann estate was sold by the sheriff it was bought by Robert Christie, and from Mrs. Christie it passed to John Frasher, who had married Robert Ferguson's daughter. To consolidate his holding, Frasher got a permit from the government to build a road where the present line runs. There were many protests from the Indians, since this would leave them less than two miles' frontage on the river and end all hopes of ever reclaiming the plains usurped by Mann. In their fury, they asked permission of the missionary, J. P. Saucier, to kill the 'thief.' But Frasher had great influence, and he, too, got what he wanted. Thus, in 100 years of English rule, the Micmac Reserve at Restigouche was established and whittled down to almost its present size (*see map*).

During the early 1800's, the wave of immigration continued. The Mann concession was partly divided into lots. Irish Catholics and Acadians settled along the north shore at Oak Bay and other points. Father E. L. Painchaud was the missionary from 1806-14. In 1810 he took a census showing '300 Savages, 166 white Catholics, and 140 Protestants' at Restigouche and Cascapedia. Probably 200 of the Indians were at Restigouche. In 1812 he wrote:

The Indian village of Restigouche is not, according to appearances, as considerable as it had been formerly. One may count here presently about 50 families which come together ordinarily about twice a year in the month of June for the fête patronale of Ste. Anne, and towards the beginning of November for All Saints. This latter season is the time when they are accustomed to come back from their autumn hunts which ordinarily are rather good and consist principally of beaver skins and otters . . . the largest number live on the North side of the river called La Mission, where the Church is and the house of the

missionary. The others are spread out in different posts below . . . and do not return to the Mission except at the times spoken of. . . The river on which the village, composed of cabins, is established has furnished them from time immemorial with an abundance of different species of animals which inhabit its shores and aquatic game which are abundant in the seasons of spring and autumn. Aside from that, in the dead season, i.e., the time when there is no hunting, they still find ways to live abundantly, with a quantity of excellent salmon which fills the river from its mouth to thirty-five leagues upstream. . . It is said that when they first began to trade with the whites, the youth, armed with spears and harpoons, filled in three or four days a vessel of 50 or 60 tons, and often the vessel could not contain all the fish caught in this short time.

Father Painchaud also wrote, "It is wished to make them cultivate the ground . . . this is an excellent project in itself, but hardly practical for a nation of born wanderers" (Pacifique, 1926:159). He commented that the Indians had eaten some seed given to them to plant but added that those who would like to see them become stable farmers should not allow the best land to be taken from them.

Cooney, describing the area about 1830, speaks of "the mercantile establishment of Dean & Aiken . . . and that of Mr. Peter Sutherland, lately established a short distance from it . . . the only resident merchants on the North side of the river." (For a description of economic developments and colonization in this and other parts of the Bay of Chaleur see MacBeath, 1954.) Four miles farther up the river is "Point Pleasant, the residence of Edward J. Mann, Esq." (Cooney, 1832:214).

On the South side, nearly opposite to Point Pleasant, is another projection called Martin's Point, formerly a French village, and now ornamented by a handsome Presbyterian Church, lately erected by the mutual exertions of the inhabitants of both sides of the river. Through this point flows a tolerably large stream, on which the present proprietor, Robert Ferguson, Esq., has a very good Saw Mill and Grist Mill (Cooney, 1832:215).

Martin's Point is now part of the city of Campbellton, and it is clear from the description that the Scottish immigrants were already holding their own during this period. Of greater interest is Cooney's description of, and attitude toward, the Indian Reserve:

Directly opposite [Sugarloaf Mountain], on the other side of the river, is Mission Point, an exceedingly rich tract of land, comprising upwards of 1,200 acres, and owned by the MICMACS, to Two Hundred of whom, it affords a permanent residence. This settlement consists of a Chapel, capable of containing 300 persons, together with a Mission House, a burying ground, and 24 dwelling houses. The houses are constructed of logs, covered with shingles or boards; they are all provided with chimneys and stoves; and some of them even have chairs, bedsteads, tables, and similar other conveniences.

Most of the householders own Live Stock, consisting of oxen, cows, swine, &c. Some of them have houses; one of them owns a small schooner of 25 tons; and others have small fishing boats.

The Indians residing here, are generally moral in their deportment, and industrious in their habits. They demean themselves soberly and peaceably, contributing much to their own respectability and comfort, by annually raising a small stock of Indian corn, beans, potatoes, &c. The R.C. Missionary residing at Carleton, is their spiritual director; he visits them twice a year, remaining a month each time; and for these services, is paid by a legislative grant from Canada. The Mission House and the Chapel were built exclusively by the Indians.

Mission Point is a very eligible site for a small town and would, if granted for that purpose, be soon occupied. The rear might be profitably disposed in garden lots, and the front in building ones. The Highlands are more than a mile and a half back, and are abundantly stocked with black birch, and several varieties of firewood; and a good channel for a vessel of two hundred tons, winds close into the beach, while a contiguous flat, or middle ground, provides an excellent Salmon Fishery. Of these advantages, Lord Dalhousie seemed to be aware, when he offered the Indians £600, and twice as much land elsewhere, if they would resign their title (Cooney, 1832:216-17; italics added).

Cooney's attitude is probably typical of the period. He recognizes that Mission Point is the 'permanent residence' of the Indians, whom he describes as 'moral and industrious.' Yet, he thinks only of moving them off this 'rich tract of land' to make room for colonists. His remark about Lord Dalhousie's 'offer' is indirectly confirmed by a statement of M. Ferland (1861) quoted by Pacifique (1926:166-7), which gives a picture of the state of the Reserve in 1836:

The first-chief, Francois Condeau (Condo), a little bent under the weight of his 75 years, wearing on his breast two silver medals, appeared at the head of his people to receive Mgr. Turgeon at Restigouche. In spite of his great poverty (wrote M. Ferland), Francois Condeau preserved all his savage pride. Son and grandson of chiefs, he only recognized inferiors about him. Only with Lord Dalhousie would he consent to communicate on an equal footing. *when this high personage, then Governor-General of Canada, visited the village of Restigouche. . .* The Micmacs have kept their language. Many among them, however, speak English and some French. The costume of the ancestors has begun to be put aside by the men; the women, on the contrary, carefully preserve the savage vestments. The appearance of the village of Restigouche is miserable. [Italics and translation mine.]

Indian politics at Restigouche during the first part of the nineteenth century were extremely complicated, but it may be worthwhile to try to understand them, as they bear a surprisingly close relation to the present situation. Chief Condo had apparently been named on the demand of the missionary Painchaud in 1812. He replaced Jacques Ganong, who had succeeded Chief Claude when the latter died in 1796. According to Painchaud, Ganong was very old and very lazy. However, in 1823 Painchaud wrote to his bishop that—

A squad of Micmacs are on their way to Quebec to submit their claims against Ned [E. I. Mann!], having at their head Thomas Barnaby. . . . I take it on myself to recommend this latter to your Grace to make him second chief, for the following reasons: first because the poor Francois Condo (of my creation) lives no longer at Restigouche where his drunkenness . . . made him lose all consideration; second, that the insignificant Jacques Ganong [who had evidently *not* retired] wishes to resign in favour of a grandson yet more insignificant than him . . . ; third, that the said Thomas Barnaby, with sense and firmness, has further the advantage of being able to express himself in English. . . His sobriety and honesty . . . have merited him the confidence of the Whites as of ourselves (Pacifique, 1926:167).

Barnaby's mission was, as we know, unsuccessful (*see* p. 15, above). He may have been discredited by it. But even before the final judgment in 1824, the 'insignificant grandson,' Denis Ganong, was named second chief and Condo became Grand Chief until his death in 1837. It cannot be doubted that there were factions of some kind during this period, though the chiefs were probably dominated to a great extent by the missionaries, and the whites

did not hesitate to interfere in Reserve affairs. In 1837, eleven non-Indians sent a signed recommendation to the Department to the effect that "as we are all interested in the conduct of the Indians, whose conduct is generally governed by that of the chief, we therefore beg leave to recommend to the proper authorities the above-named Thomas Barnaby as the most fit and proper person to fill that station" (quoted in Pacifique, 1926:168 fn.). "He was named, in effect, by Lord Aylmer, who gave him a medal. It was he who took the initiative to again demand a resident missionary (Ibid., 168).

But Barnaby's leadership was not unchallenged. In 1841, three 'chiefs,' Joseph Mallie, François Labauve, and Pierre Basquet, on the advice of Capt. H. D. O'Halloran (who had set himself up as a 'Great White Chief'), journeyed to England to see their 'Noble Mother the Queen' (Victoria) and to protest the actions of the authorities towards them. The Queen did not receive them, "but she charged Lord Stanley to give each a medal and to send them back home quickly, to blame O'Halloran for his meddling, and finally to ask the Canadian authorities to take care of their Indians" (Pacifique, 1926:169).

Barnaby was described by M. Painchaud as a 'man of action.' Reading between the lines, we may guess that he was a leader of a kind of 'progressive faction,' who favoured working closely with the missionary and the whites. But he may have been too independent, for around 1844, "on the demand of Mr. Christie¹ he was demoted and supplanted by Joseph Mallie, called Tkobeitch." Of this latter, the missionary Olscamp wrote in 1846: "He is my right arm; he hasn't been drinking for two years now; he comports himself a little better; in regard to his duties as chief, he fills them better than any others" (Ibid., 168 fn.).

Olscamp, the first permanent resident missionary, came to Restigouche in 1843 and apparently did quite well with the Indian language, for a letter of thanks to the Bishop (written in English) in 1845 states:

As Mr. Olscamp now speaks Micmac, so that he is able to exhort and understand us in our intercourse with him, in the language we are in the habit of using in our families . . . his usefulness is in consequence much increased, and as he spares no pains to instruct us in our duties as Christians and our behavior as citizens, we hope much good will result from his time and patience (Ibid., 169 fn.).

Most interesting is the fact that the letter is signed by Thomas Germain as 'Grand Chief,' with Thomas Barnaby, François Gagnon, and Denis Jerome, Chiefs.

Other events of this period also testify to the existence of factions. In 1847, Charles Murray of Campbellton established a sawmill on the Reserve; but he soon had to withdraw because of dissension among the Indians and because "Mr. Ferguson (owner of the mills in Campbellton) made them believe that soon the whole Mission would be possessed by the Whites. But the following year, a petition asking for its return was circulated which attracted 73 signatures" (Pacifique, 1926:163).

In 1851 both Joseph Mallie and Thomas Barnaby died, and Pierre Basquet

¹This Mr. Christie was the purchaser of the Mann estate. It is probable that he was the same Robert Christie who had been a controversial Member of Parliament earlier in the century, later the author of a history of Canada.

made a second trip to England, the results of which are unknown. It is not clear who was considered chief during the following period, and it is quite possible that each of the (hypothesized) factions had its own leader, the 'Mallie faction' now being led by François Labauve and the 'Barnaby faction' by Thomas Germain. Later we hear of Louis Caplan as Grand Chief.

In 1844, Olscamp wrote, "There are here about 80 families; of these three or four make their living entirely by agriculture; the others do so in part by farming and in part by what they make working in the woods for the market" (Ibid., 163). It is clear from this statement, and from other facts noted above, that tremendous changes had taken place at Restigouche since Painchaud had observed, thirty years earlier, that the Indians "come together ordinarily about twice a year in July . . . and towards the beginning of November," after their autumn hunt (cf. p. 15, above). The rich forest resources of New Brunswick and Gaspé were just beginning to be seriously exploited, and the diversion of lumbering activities after the great Miramichi fire of 1825 contributed to the growth of Campbellton as a port. The occupational pattern noted by Olscamp was to hold well into the twentieth century, though trapping and crafts probably remained fairly important until the end of the nineteenth century.

Charles Halleck, a staff writer for *Harper's Magazine*, visited the Restigouche area in 1868. His account contains many statements which throw light on the situation of the Reserve at that time:

Campbellton is a compact village of one thousand inhabitants, with several trading houses, docks, and timber ponds. It is the entrepôt of the lumbermen who wield their axes in the wilderness upstream. There are few houses beyond it on the New Brunswick side. . . . On the Canada side is the regular post-road to Quebec, which is attainable from Campbellton by a rude ferry. . . . The ferry terminus is a sand-bluff at Mission Point, where is located the largest settlement of Micmacs in the Province. They number two hundred families and occupy a reservation of 1200 acres of excellent land. Those who are not too lazy cultivate a little ground, but the majority earn a livelihood by lumbering, hunting, and fishing. They are very expert with the canoe and are always employed by those who have occasion to visit the interior. . . . The women raise a few garden vegetables, and some of the wealthier have a cow. . . . In the winter they manufacture baskets and wooden-ware.

Their houses are built of boards and logs, furnished like a backwoodsman's shanty, and are laid out in streets. For the most part they dress like the whites. . . . Comparatively few of the Indians live habitually on the reserve (Halleck, 1868:430-1).

Halleck goes on to describe the celebration of Ste. Anne's Day, which he happened to witness. This consisted of a church service, followed by a feast spread under a huge wigwam of boughs, to which the Indians marched through rows of evergreens. Foot-races and dancing followed. All this activity was accompanied by a continual firing of guns into the air "to 'keep the Devil away' for the ensuing year" (Ibid.). The author also noted that the missionary, Father Saucier, ran a store "which on secular days, invited the trade of his . . . flock (for the Father has a keen eye to business as well as to his spiritual calling)."

Halleck had been sent by his editor to report on the Restigouche area, which was already becoming an internationally known 'sportsman's paradise.' For two days he was a guest of Daniel Frasher, Esq., who had his residence

near the confluence of the Restigouche and the Matapedia. Frasher (who was no relation to John Frasher) had more than 100 employees who worked in the winter at lumbering, trapping, and hunting, and in the summer at farming, stock-raising, salmon fishing, general repairing, and road-making (Ibid., 433). Through Frasher, Halleck acquired a fishing companion and four guides; two Restigouche Indians, Larry and John; a Mohawk named Peter; and one identified only as "Catpat" (perhaps from Fr. *quatre-patte*, 'four-foot'). The guides received 10 shillings a day, and amply earned it. The only other item of interest in the account is the author's description of how his guides speared salmon by torchlight; the accompanying illustration (Ibid., 436) shows a canoe (with an unusually high, square stern for a Micmac vessel) with a torch mounted in front, and a man using a double-flanged salmon spear. (A similar picture, dated 1846, appears in MacBeath 1954.)

In the following years, acculturation proceeded at a fairly even rate. A school had been opened at Restigouche in 1856 with a subsidy from the Department of Indian Affairs, and its operation was supervised by a Bureau of Commissioners from 1868-82; but the attendance was slight, for many of the families were still quite mobile. The Indians 'contributed nothing to maintain the school,' so its administration was handed over to the Missionary-Agent. Father Saucier stated in 1866 the desirability of getting nuns to teach the 'little girls of the Mission,' but nearly forty years were to pass before this was realized (Pacifique, 1926:164).

Lumbering became increasingly important to the district and to the Indians. Throughout the summer, ships of many countries came to Restigouche to take on cargoes of timber. The Restigouche Band was induced to give up its salmon-fishing rights in exchange for a promise of guiding jobs with the 'millionaire Sports' who organized private fishing clubs several miles upstream. The non-Indian population grew rapidly. From the time of the first Dominion Census of 1871, to 1931, the rural and village population of the north shore of Chaleur Bay increased by 70 per cent (Hughes, 1943:15). Railroads began to span the Maritimes; in 1875 the Inter-Colonial line was completed, and Matapedia and New Carlisle were linked by rail in 1886. Campbellton became an important terminal with a population of more than 4,000 by the turn of the century. Agitation for a bridge to span the Restigouche had already begun, though the structure was not completed until 1961.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Government was formulating its Indian policy. In 1860, England withdrew from control of Indian affairs, and Canada assumed the treaty obligations. The segregated and regulated reserve became the instrument of this policy, which was designed to teach the Indians self-support and Christianity, and to protect their rights and property from the whites. The ultimate aim was their amalgamation with the dominant culture (Harper, 1945:120 ff.).

The last lifetime chief at Restigouche was Louis Caplan. When he died in 1874, Polycarpe Martin, who had been 'second chief,' succeeded him "without other formality, and with the consent of the Department. He reigned in peace until 1898, rendering at the same time great services to the Church, as interpreter" (Pacifique, 1926:170-1). His councillor during this period was Noël Basque, and there were two events of particular note.

A Mr. O'Leary of Richibucto opened a sawmill on the Reserve in 1885, but soon there was considerable dissension among the Indians, and when the mill burned a few years later, it was not rebuilt. Then in 1893 the church burned. The following year the Capuchin Fathers, led by Father Pacifique, came to Restigouche, where they built a chapel and a monastery.

As we move into the 'Recent Period,' the process of assimilation seems to be pervading all aspects of the social life. Father M. T. Smith, missionary in 1891, commented on the use of the term *sauvage* in official documents and in common speech to denote the Indian inhabitants. He wrote that a stranger, hearing that term, would be surprised to be received in an Indian home by "the master in his well-appointed salon, perhaps better furnished than that of many of the Whites . . . and to find the 'Savage' follow a conversation . . . with the ease of an educated person . . . to see Micmac girls who are like the *mademoiselles* of Quebec. . . ." Noting the "good-natured sympathy which forms the salient principle of the character of this nation . . . he will say, 'What a happy transformation due to the spirit of Christianity'." (Pacifique, 1926:161 fn.) (author's translation)

CHAPTER FOUR

The Recent Period

It was indicated earlier that the transition to the 'Recent Period,' which coincides quite closely with the turn of the century, was marked by fundamental changes in the political, economic, and educational spheres. I shall first discuss these changes and then outline the history of the community in the twentieth century; for in Part II, my description of the contemporary community will also contain much detailed information on recent socio-cultural change.

Polycarpe Martin had been chief for 24 years when, according to Pacifique, in 1898

A movement . . . started in the reserve to have periodic elections. The Department was quite happy to accord this to Restigouche, as elsewhere; mostly because it did away with the necessity of having special consideration for the . . . princely dignity of these individuals, which was sometimes a bit awkward. As for the Indians, they quickly got used to 'making' chiefs, and have respected them according to their merits . . . (1926:171).

Previously, there had been only "the kind of election which the Micmacs called 'understanding by word,' but only when a chief or other officer had to be replaced" (Ibid., 170). Males over 15 years of age had a voice in such matters. Now, however, the chief and several councillors were to be elected every three years by majority vote of the electors over 21 years of age. The first chief elected in the new style was Alexis Marchant.

The major change in the economic sphere occurred when the Champoux Company established the Chaleur Bay Mills, a large sawmill, on Reserve land in 1902. Chief Marchant conducted the negotiations and, according to one informant, favoured charging the company \$100 a year in rent; but one of his councillors, Isaac Isaac, Sr., convinced him that that was 'too much,' and so the land was leased for half that amount.

The mill changed hands but was in fairly continuous operation until 1931, providing steady employment for all who wanted to work, Indian and non-Indian. As one informant phrased it, "You couldn't walk past the lumberyard without somebody asking you if you wanted a job!" The wages were not high, but from the perspective of the Depression it is easily apparent how this period came to be regarded as a 'Golden Age' of great prosperity.

The mill brought many whites to the Reserve. The company built a number of houses for its non-Indian employees on a part of the church lot known as 'The Flats.' Though the two groups did not mix socially, the presence of the non-Indians as fellow employees and as neighbours was bound to have some effect. According to the priest, it served to increase the 'civilization' of the Indians, "at least on the exterior. Formerly they had displayed their disorders with shame; today [1926] there is almost as much decorum as in the white villages in ordinary morality . . . from this point of view the

Mission is unrecognizable to those who have been away for 20 or 30 years" (Pacifique, 1926:163). The 'disorders' referred to probably included public drunkenness, fighting, and shooting in the streets.

Finally, in 1903, three Sisters of the Order of the Holy Rosary came to Restigouche to found an Indian Day School. Chief Marchant and his councillors had requested this in 1899. Sister Mary of Lourdes was the principal and taught the primary grades for eighteen years. She and some of the other Sisters learned the Indian language, and until 1920 most instruction consisted of the catechism and Bible history, given in Micmac. According to a report submitted by Sister Mary of the Holy Eucharist in 1959, the convent chronicles show that, in the mid-1920's,

. . . education was still considered a side item in the life of the Indians. The records mention a class of forty-five pupils registered. The daily attendance would vary from ten to thirteen. About eight would attend regularly. The others would come but twice a week. The highest grade would be the 4th.

A fairly good school attendance is recorded . . . since the establishment of the Family Allowance law in 1946-47. . .

It has only been for the last twelve years that the Indian pupils have successfully passed the seventh grade tests sent to all the schools of the Province. . .

The first Sisters faced linguistic, attitudinal, and many other problems, and it cannot be said that their early efforts had much effect upon the minds of their occasional students. But a start had been made, and literacy was gradually achieved by the students, first in Micmac and then in English.

Between 1903 and 1921, Father Pacifique published a monthly paper, "The Micmac Messenger," in the Indian language. It contained chiefly prayers, sermons, and news items such as announcements of the great Micmac Tercentenary held at Restigouche in 1910, celebrating the 300th anniversary of the baptism of Chief Membertou by the Jesuit Biard, and of the convocation in Nova Scotia at which a new 'Grand Chief of All the Micmacs' was elected. It also contained a notice for a booklet entitled "Baseball Rules in Micmac," sold by the Big Cove (Reserve) Club, and advertisements for labourers to work on the railroads which were slowly spreading across Canada's western frontier.

Some Indians answered those advertisements and followed the railroad. Others roamed over Canada and the northern United States working in lumber camps, on river drives, and in the wheat harvests. Some Indians fought in World War I. But most stayed at the Mission, to work in lumbering, at the mill, loading on the docks, or farming. The Campbellton Fire of 1910, which destroyed the entire town including three mills on the south shore, may have indirectly contributed to the prosperity of those years. (See section II, Appendix.) Baseball became the Great Micmac Pastime: inter-reserve games were arranged and hotly contested.

A number of chiefs and agents served the Reserve during these years; some of these will be discussed in the next chapter, but I shall list them all here for purposes of reference.

One may detect a slight patrilineal tendency in the choice of chiefs at Restigouche. In the eighteenth century, Grand Chief Condo spoke of himself as a 'son and grandson of Chiefs,' and his successor, Jacques Ganong, resigned in favour of his 'insignificant grandson.' Denis Jerome was replaced by his

brother (as second-chief) on his death. Both a son and a grandson of Noël Basque, councillor to Polycarpe Martin, have been elected chief in this century. Of sixteen men elected chief since 1898, two (*l* and *o*) were father and son, two were half-brothers (*j* and *m*), with a third their brother-in-law (*p*). Two others were related as wife's-father — daughter's-husband (*b* and *k*).

Table 2—CHIEFS OF THE RESTIGOUCHE RESERVE
1898–1962

Years (approx.)	Chief (Councillors)	Remarks ¹	Agent
1898–1904*	<i>a</i> Alexis Marchant (Isaac Isaac)	or 1898–1901 and 1901–07	Germa Pete
1904–07	<i>b</i> Isaac Isaac		
1907–10	<i>c</i> Peter Sewell	2 terms resigned and councillor com- pleted his term	?
1910–13	<i>d</i> Nicholas Jerome		
1913–19	<i>e</i> William Vicaire		
1919–21	<i>f</i> Peter Metallic <i>g</i> (John Dedam)		
1921–24	<i>h</i> Barney Morrison		
1924–30	<i>i</i> Joe Larocque (Albert Condo) (Frank P. Isaac)	2 terms	Dr. Bossi
1931–37	<i>j</i> Frank P. Isaac (Wm. P. Martin)	from 1928	
1937–40	<i>k</i> Tom Michel (Peter Jacques) (William Molly)		Dr. Richard
1940–49	<i>l</i> Daniel Basque, Sr.	3 terms 1942?	
1949–52	<i>m</i> Thomas Gedeon	1950?	d. 1942 E. Arsenault
1952–56**	<i>n</i> Mike Clement	2 terms	C. P. Nadeau
1956–58	<i>o</i> David Basque <i>p</i> Joseph Wilfred Dedam	resigned; by-election held to fill term	L. J. L. Bourrassa
1958–60	<i>q</i> Peter Jacques (John L. Jerome)		
1960–62	<i>p</i> Joseph Wilfred Dedam (Victor Germain)		

* — Three-year terms (to 1952)

** — Two-year terms

Dr. Bossi was both agent and doctor to the Restigouche Band, as was Dr. Richard who served from 1928 until his death in 1942. They were the first resident medical doctors on the Reserve, but throughout the century health services had been improving, and the infant mortality rate gradually fell. The

¹ In the fall of 1962, William Wysote was elected chief.

population, which had remained at around 500 between 1860 and 1910, began to increase steadily, rising to more than 700 in the thirties and to more than a thousand in the fifties.

The Depression dealt a serious blow to the economy of the Reserve. The mill closed in 1931. The few available jobs tended to go to non-Indians, and this included the guiding jobs which the Indians had been promised. Most families subsisted on relief payments. Only the baseball team flourished: "We had nothing else to do, so we practised all Spring and played ball all Summer." Some of the most experienced woodsmen kept their jobs, but pay was low, and the people who were children then "remember being hungry most of the time." Families with a tradition of farming fared better; but most others had even forgotten the basic hunting, fishing, or craft skills. "We didn't even know how to make baskets to get a few pennies." Around 1935, Micmacs from all over the Maritimes started to make an annual trek to Aroostook County, Maine, for the potato harvest. The economic situation improved after 1936, when another company operated a pulpwood peeling drum in the Reserve, and foreign ships again visited the wharves.

When World War II began, many Indian men joined the Army, and men and women travelled to Montreal and other large cities for industrial jobs. The wood-pulp industry came out of a slump, and the woods were again full of men, though the power-driven chain saw had partially replaced the axe. From 1942 to 1952, a Homemakers Club, sponsored by the Sisters for the Indian women, met regularly. A few of the Indian families started to operate their own small stores or canteens.

The returning veterans received grants of \$2,300 each, which many used to build houses on the Reserve. But few stayed to occupy them, for their experiences had opened their eyes to the possibilities of different ways of life. The urban workers reacted similarly. In 1961, though there were 1,130 individuals on the Restigouche Band List, nearly 400 were not living on the Reserve.

The Reserve was about to enter a new era of 'modernization.' Since World War II, the main road has been paved, electricity has become available, and nearly one hundred houses have been built or overhauled by the Indian Affairs Branch; the church has been redecorated, and the buildings on 'the Flats' have been renovated for non-Indian occupancy; stores, canteens, and barber shops have opened on the Reserve; a new 'integrated' school has been established; and the bridge linking Restigouche with the city of Campbellton has been completed. In Part II, these changes and their effects upon the quality of life on the Reserve will be considered in detail.

PART II:

THE CONTEMPORARY RESERVE

CHAPTER FIVE

Environment and Demography

About fourteen miles west of the Reserve, the Matapedia River empties into the Restigouche, which from this point flows for ten miles over rapids and through deep places studded with small islands to the head of the tide. Here it broadens suddenly before emptying into the Bay of Chaleur. To the south lies the Province of New Brunswick with the cities of Campbellton, Dalhousie, and Bathurst along the Chaleur Bay coast. On the north shore of the bay fertile alluvial plains extend, sometimes for several miles, to the foothills of the Notre Dame mountains of the Gaspé peninsula. A Quebec provincial highway runs from Mont Joli on the St. Lawrence River southward through the valley of the Matapedia, and then eastward through the Reserve, and on to Carleton with its sandy beach and summer resorts; thence to the Maria Micmac Reserve and out the peninsula to Gaspé.

The Restigouche Reserve is now connected with the city of Campbellton by a half-mile-long bridge which was opened in the early fall of 1961. There had been regular ferry service between the two communities for more than one hundred years. The settlement nearest the Reserve is the village of Cross Point, which extends for two miles along the road which marks the eastern boundary of the Reserve from the bridge causeway north to the provincial highway. The population of Cross Point is mainly French Canadian. Twenty to thirty miles behind the main part of the Reserve are several French-Canadian 'colonies' (cf. Hughes, 1943).

The Reserve itself has a two-mile frontage on the river (*see map*). A paved road parallels the river, and most of the houses are distributed irregularly on either side of this road. Two gravel roads run northward from the main road; one, the 'short cut,' leads past one or two houses and the Indian cemetery; the other, the 'Dundee Road,' leads past twelve houses, crosses the provincial highway and the Canadian National Railway tracks, and connects with a road which traverses the wooded portion of the Reserve. The total area of the Reserve is approximately 30 square miles.

Extending along the paved road is the main residential area of the Reserve which is bisected by the church lot, a strip of land 400 yards wide, running from the shore to the highway. South of the main road is the Capuchin monastery with its gardens, church building, and cemetery; north of the road, still on church land, are a convent of the Sisters of the Holy Rosary, a general store, the post office, an appliance store, and 'the Flats,' where about two dozen French-Canadian families live in housing units maintained and rented by the parish priest. An RCMP post was formerly located near the post office.

East of the church lot are about forty Indian residences, two small canteens, and the Agency area consisting of the Agency office, two houses

for resident officials, the Reserve jail, and the nursing office. This end of the Reserve is referred to as 'down the Mission' or, in Micmac, *kudAn*, 'town' or 'settlement.'

The greatest concentration of population is west of the church lot. In addition to the family residences on the Dundee Road, there are nearly one hundred occupied houses, a barber shop, several canteens, two pool halls, a good-sized grocery store, and the Reserve baseball field. This area is known as 'up the Mission,' or *waneIk*, 'cove bay.' The land at this end is higher and better drained than that 'down'; drinking water is closer to the surface; and the beach is more accessible, since below the church a bluff rises quite steeply from the shore. The extreme western end, where the main road meets the provincial highway and Officer's Brook runs into the river, is known as *jibujic*, 'brook' (probably from *sibu*, 'river' and *-jic*, diminutive suffix).

A passing tourist might never realize he had driven through an Indian Reserve if he had missed the small sign reading 'Reserve Indien — Vitesse 30,' for the general appearance of the Reserve is that of a pleasant rural residential community. Many of the houses are old and dilapidated, but the majority are relatively new and well cared for — at least by local lower-class standards. Most of the recent construction has been financed by the Indian Affairs Branch, but some houses have been built by private individuals — mostly veterans of the Second World War. At night the main road is lighted, and the bluish glare of television screens has replaced the orange glow of the kerosene lamp in nine out of ten windows.

There are, however, a number of invisible boundaries which surround the Reserve and set it off from neighbouring communities and from the Agency and church enclaves. The major boundaries are legal, linguistic, social, and cultural. I shall discuss the three latter factors later in this chapter, but here I shall discuss some aspects of the legal status of the Reserve *qua* community.

In Chapters Two and Three I described how the group of Micmac who traditionally frequented the Restigouche area became increasingly centralized, first at *Tjigog* and later at the site of the present Reserve, under the influence of the church and the fur trade. The processes which reduced the size of the Reserve were also outlined in Chapter Three. Centralization and settlement were, however, more gradual than may have been indicated. According to several informants, the nomadic way of life persisted for at least some Quebec Micmac into the present century. Church records at Restigouche date back to 1842, but it is likely that the title 'sauvage de cette Mission' was applied to both the sedentary group and to those wandering families who only came to the church to have their babies baptized.¹

Economic opportunities on the Reserve — lumbering, guiding, government aid, and sometimes even farming — were important attractions as game became more and more scarce; and, as Sayres has written of the Nova Scotia Micmac,

The seasonal meeting-places became the year-round nuclei of the localized band communities. Residential nucleation followed economic nucleation. Soon the representative hunter was not one who lived with his family on his tract and

¹I was able to inspect the church records through the kindness of Father Henry (O.F.M., Cap.). Despite the fires which have repeatedly damaged the church, the records are continuous since 1842.

made seasonal excursions to the band meeting-place, but one who made his home in the meeting-place and visited his tract during the hunting season (1956:xlvi).

The Band is today a corporate group: membership in the Band is determined by the provisions of Article 11 of the Canadian *Indian Act* of 1951, chap. 29, sect. 1, as amended. In general terms, this article provides for the registration, on a given Band List, of individuals who qualify under a number of nineteenth century statutes, their *patrilineal descendants* or wives (including widows), and illegitimate children of women who qualify. Each individual registered as a Band member is considered to have an equal (*per capita*) share "of the capital and revenue moneys held by Her Majesty in behalf of the Band," to which he is entitled should he become enfranchised or otherwise cease to be a member of the Band (as when an Indian woman marries a non-Indian). (Ref.: Articles 14 and 15, *Indian Act*.)

The Reserve lands are also held in trust by the Crown; by definition, "reserve means a tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band" (Article 2, *Indian Act*). Administration of the Indian Act, and thus of all Indian lands, is presently the responsibility of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, though the Governor-in-Council has broad powers of modification over nearly every part of the Act as applied to particular groups, bands, or lands (except for Articles 37-41 which deal with 'surrenders').

Plots of reserve land may be allotted to, or purchased by, individual band members by action of the Band Council (*see below*), subject to the approval of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. At Restigouche, each residence is situated on an individually-owned plot, and many individuals own additional plots, on some of which vegetables are grown or grains cultivated for feed. No reserve land may be sold to a non-Indian, though under certain circumstances it may be leased. Sale or transfer of land among Band members is closely regulated.

All reserve land not allotted to individuals is held 'for the use and benefit' of the Band as a whole. This includes all the wooded portion (though individual Indians have rights of occupancy to places they have cleared for 'camps') and much of the residential area, including unused land, public pumps, the baseball field, and rights-of-way. Band members may cut timber or pulp logs in the wooded section. A 'stumpage' fee is paid by the purchaser into the Band revenue fund. Any Band member may cut firewood, hunt, or fish on reserve land, though hunting and fishing are regulated by federal and provincial laws.

The preceding sentence points to an important fact about the legal status of the Reserve and the Band: the land and the people are subject to several sets of overlapping statutes, some of which apply to all citizens of Canada, some to residents of the province, and others to all Indians. In addition, the Restigouche Band falls administratively under the Quebec Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch and is part of the Restigouche Agency which also includes Maria Reserve in Quebec and the small Eel River Reserve in New Brunswick. This situation is depicted graphically in Figure 1.

The legal status of Indians is summarized in a reference paper issued by the Indian Affairs Branch as follows:

Apart from special provisions in the Indian Act, Indians are subject to federal, provincial, and municipal laws, and in the same manner as other citizens. Indians may sue and be sued and may enter freely into contractual obligations in ordinary business transactions. Their real and personal property held on a reserve is exempt from taxation, and such property, except on a suit by another Indian, is also exempt from seizure.

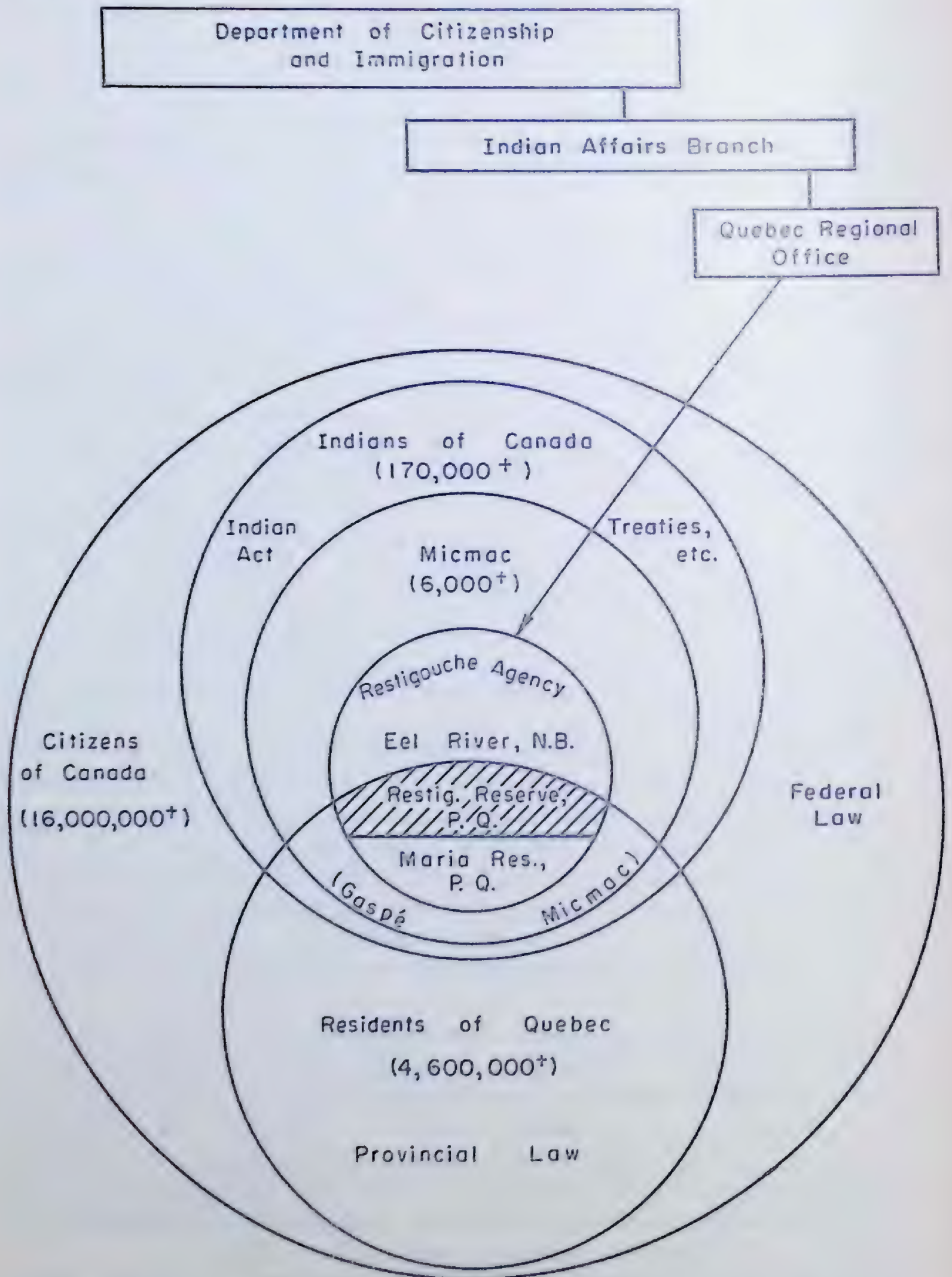


FIGURE 1—Political, administrative, and ethnic boundaries of the Reserve

Since individual lots and houses are the only valuable property possessed by most Restigouche Indians, the provision against seizure, while it is a protection for the Indians, at the same time effectively prevents access to capital loans which would depend upon this property for collateral.¹ Until recently, this provision was also thought to apply to goods purchased 'on time,' and some Indians took advantage of their assumed immunity from repossession; this is no longer the case, but instalment buying is still very popular (cf. Section 88 (2)).

In 1960, Indians of Quebec were enfranchised for federal and provincial elections; they are even starting to attract the attention of their representatives. The general trend today in Canadian Indian administration is to transfer certain responsibilities from the federal to the provincial governments or to joint commissions. This has led, at least in Quebec, to a greater recognition of the rights of Indians *as residents* of the province, and, despite the fact that they pay no taxes, welfare payments are now being made to them under the new Quebec Public Assistance Law.

This situation, as well as the implications of the Reserve's inclusion in both a unified school district and a Roman Catholic parish, will be discussed more fully in the following sections. I shall now summarize the most salient points about the development and present legal status of the Restigouche community:

(1) As a result of historical and economic factors, the Restigouche Band, which was formerly made up of scattered nomadic families inhabiting a wide geographical area, has been transformed into a relatively sedentary community occupying a restricted and bisected territory.

(2) The Band is technically a corporate group with an elected managerial body (the Band Council), but all its assets are held in trust by the Federal Government. The Council makes expenditures of funds, and grants occupancy and rights to use land and resources, but only with the approval of the bureaucratic hierarchy responsible for the trusteeship.

(3) Band members are subject to federal and provincial law as well as to the special provisions of the Indian Act, including prohibition of possession or consumption of alcoholic beverages. But the relationships among these sets of statutes are gradually changing: though Indian property is still largely tax-exempt, the privileges (and obligations) of national citizenship and of provincial residency are gradually being extended to the Indians. In particular, the trend seems to be to make the provinces responsible for welfare, health, law enforcement, and regulation of drinking on many reserves.

(4) The aim seems to be to give the reserve community a legal status equivalent to that of any other municipality, and ultimately to liquidate the special relationship between the Federal Government and the Band.

Turning now to the characteristics of the population of the Reserve, the first thing to be noted is the tremendous growth of the Band in the twentieth century. I shall first list the various estimates and enumerations which we have of the population, and then discuss the significance of these figures.

¹In the last few years, at least two Indian men have been prevented from establishing businesses on the Reserve owing to the inaccessibility of capital, despite their 'ownership' of land of sufficient value to act as collateral.

Table 3—POPULATION ESTIMATES, 1678-1961

<i>Year</i>	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Houses</i>	<i>Source</i>
c. 1678	400	60	—	Pacifique (after LeClercq)
1760	100?	—	—	Elliot; Pacifique suggests 250
1812	—	50	—	Painchaud
c. 1830	200	—	24	Cooney (probably low)
1840	353	—	75?	Wilkie (cited by Pacifique)
1844	—	80	—	Olscamp
1860	481	—	—	Saucier
1868	—	200?	—	Halleck (definitely high)
1910	506	—	—	Census
1924	565	—	—	Report of Department
1926	577	—	—	Pacifique
1929	583	—	—	Report (cited by Adrien)
1939	720	—	—	Report (cited by Adrien)
1949	750	—	—	Report (cited by Adrien)
1950	664	133	—	Parish records (cited by Adrien)
1953	852	—	—	Enrolled members (cited by Adrien)
1954	872	—	—	Census
1961	1,130	—	—	Enrolled members
1961	745	—	150	Census

Although the figures for the early years are unreliable, they are given for comparative purposes. Starting with Saucier's figure of 481 in 1860, the statistics are more accurate but still require interpretation. Olscamp's estimate of the number of families seems reasonable, but as noted above, it probably refers to a much more mobile group than would be found even fifteen years later. However, combining the two estimates gives an average of about 6.0 persons per house, which seems a bit high, but not improbable.

Pacifique, who had intimate knowledge of the church records, stated that the population remained around 500 for the intervening decades (Halleck's estimate is obviously inaccurate). The highest growth rate began after 1910. Inspection of the birth rate figures available shows very little change, so that the increase is doubtless attributable to a drop in infant mortality and general improvement in the economic and health conditions on the Reserve.¹ The figures for the 1920's are probably quite accurate as to the number who actually lived on the Reserve. Thereafter, I suspect that the 'Reports' were adjusted to include at least some enrolled members not actually present; for though the population continued to grow rapidly, there was an increasing tendency for young adults and sometimes entire families to live away from the Reserve.

These trends have continued up to the present. In June of 1961 the population was enumerated by an Indian census taker; his total of 745 persons residing on the Reserve at that time is probably quite accurate. The total of 1,130 enrolled members is based on a continuing count by the Agency. It is probably rather high because of duplication in the records and continuance on the Band List of individuals for whom there is no proof of death. But the Agency records were revised around 1958 and are now more

¹Cf. Table 2, p. 24.

reliable than previously. A safe estimate for 1961 would be 1,100 enrolled members, with around 750 members present on the Reserve at any given time. The total population at Restigouche may be compared with the larger total of approximately 6,000 Micmac of all bands. Houses are continually being built, occupied, and left, but during the summer of 1961 there were about 150 occupied houses, with an average of five persons per house. However, actual household size varies from one to fifteen persons.

In Table 4, figures derived from both Agency and church records are used to estimate the birth rate over four decades for all enrolled members. The estimate is slightly low, particularly up to 1950, for in the earlier years (as genealogical interviews have shown) many young children who died were dropped from the Agency records. Also, children born away from the Reserve (whether legitimate or not) may not be entered on the Band List and in most cases they are not baptized in the parish church (cf. Bock, 1964a).

Table 4—BIRTHS (1920-59) — ALL ENROLLED BAND MEMBERS

<i>Years</i>	<i>Legitimate</i>	<i>Illegitimate</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Illegit./Total</i>
1920-24	47 (?)	22	69	0.32 (?)
1925-29	85	23	108	0.21
1930-34	112	31	143	0.22
1935-39	100	32	132	0.24
1940-44	92	17	109	0.16
1945-49	106	17	123	0.14
1950-54	115	28	143	0.20
1955-59	146	20	166	0.12
TOTAL	803	190	993	0.20 = Average Proportion

Table 5 presents the age distribution of the current population as I have estimated it from school and Agency records.

Table 5—ESTIMATED AGES OF ENROLLED BAND MEMBERS (1961)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Estimated Number</i>	<i>Proportion of Total</i>
Birth to 6 years	190	0.18
6 to 16 years	220	0.20
Over 16 years	690	0.62
TOTAL	1,100	1.00

Since many of the young adult men and women of the Band have left the Reserve, the resident population is composed, to a large extent, of the very young. Of the 745 Indians at Restigouche in June 1961, I would estimate that nearly one half were under the age of 16. Other characteristics of the population will be treated below under the appropriate headings.

CHAPTER SIX

The School and the Community

Until the turn of the century, and for some time thereafter, formal education at Restigouche was largely limited to religious instruction. The hieroglyphic system invented by LeClercq and later modified by Maillard had little flexibility and was more a mnemonic device for prayers than a true writing system. Rand and Pacifique both developed alphabets for writing Micmac and had scriptures, prayer books, and catechisms published in the native language. According to Wallis, in 1912 only a few of the older people could read the hieroglyphics at all.

Even in the nineteenth century some of the men at Restigouche learned to read and write in English either by being taught or by teaching themselves. But when the Sisters of the Holy Rosary came to Restigouche in 1903, it was decided to use the Indian language in the four-grade school which they established. Until 1920, the elements of Micmac reading and writing were taught, together with catechism and 'Bible history.' One man who attended the school during this period said: "When I went to school there was no English taught—just religion taught in Micmac." Another described the curriculum as "mostly singing and praying."

After 1920 the school developed into a seven-grade "Indian Day School," under the administration of the Indian Affairs Department (later, Branch) but staffed by the Sisters. Attendance was very irregular, and few Indian children completed the seventh grade; during this period only one person, the adopted son of a fairly well-to-do Indian, attended 'college' (i.e., a Catholic secondary boarding school), and he abandoned it in favour of a brief career in professional baseball.

As non-taxpayers, the Indian children did not have automatic access to the provincial schools, and few parents could have afforded private 'colleges,' even if the children had desired it. After the Second World War, however, Indian children were enabled to attend secondary (boarding) schools, major expenses being paid by the Indian Affairs Branch. About a dozen boys and girls from Restigouche benefited from this government-sponsored program, two of them graduating from New Brunswick 'academies.'

Since the initiation of the Family Allowance¹ and the 1951 Indian Act, attendance at the primary school for children between 6 and 16 years of age has been mandatory and has been strictly enforced. In 1960 an 'integrated' school system was put into operation on the Reserve, including classes from kindergarten to grade eleven (the end of secondary school in Quebec), and

¹The Family Allowance is an allotment given by the Government of Canada for each child in a family. The amount received, which increases with the age of the child, is predicated, in the case of school-age children, upon their regular school attendance.

in 1961 a two-year Normal School for girls was added. Enrolment of Indian students is shown in the table below.

Table 6—INDIAN STUDENTS ENROLLED (by sex and grade) AT RESTIGOUCHE REGIONAL SCHOOL, SEPTEMBER 1961

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kindergarten	11	10	21
1st	15	18	33
2nd	16	10	26
3rd	11	13	24
4th	13	13	26
5th	28	12	40
6th	3	10	13
7th	13	10	23
8th	6	4	10
9th	5	1	6
10th	0	0	0
11th	4	2	6
Normal School	—	0	0
TOTAL	125	103	228

In addition to the Indian students, there were 366 non-Indian students attending the school in 1961. These students, both French- and English-speaking, come from 'the Flats,' Cross Point, the 'colonies,' and from other neighbouring communities, especially Mann and Oak Bay. Twenty older girls who come from some distance to attend the Normal School are boarded in the convent.

The discussion above of the legal status of the Reserve is important to an understanding of the organization of the school. The Indian Day School which preceded the present school was administered by the Indian Affairs Branch and staffed by the Sisters. But the Branch policy is to encourage the integration of Indian with non-Indian schools, both in the belief that this will lead to more rapid assimilation of the Indians with the dominant culture, and also as part of the general policy of transferring responsibility for the Indians to each province. Under the new system, the Branch, having made an initial contribution of \$190,000 for the building of the new plant, pays a certain amount each month for each Indian pupil attending (this totalled \$30,000 in 1960-61). The school and its assets are administered by a school board elected from among residents of the district; however, since they are non-taxpayers, the Indians have no vote in the election of this board.¹

The school principal and the core of the teaching staff are Sisters from the convent. Other teachers are Roman Catholic lay persons hired by the school

¹This is the reason given by the School Board for denying the right to vote to the Indians, despite the sizeable contribution made each year by the Indian Affairs Branch to the operation of the school.

Some of the 'progressive' Indians have expressed to me their suspicion that other reasons govern the Indians' exclusion from school affairs. Funds are alleged to have been used for purposes other than those for which they were allotted. School equipment has found its way into the effective private possession of school board members. A rumoured deficit of \$25,000 in school funds has bolstered the Indians' suspicions.

board (and initially including some relatives of board members). Two Indians have served on the staff, one as manual training instructor and the other, paid by the Branch, as recreation director.

Classes are formed according to the language (English or French) spoken by the students and, in most grades, by sex as well. Each teacher teaches all subjects, with a few exceptions such as typing, cooking, and science, to the students in her classroom; in the upper grades, it is usual to find two grades being taught in the same classroom. As a result of this organization, integration is more apparent than real, for there are relatively few English-speaking non-Indian students and no French-speaking Indian students. Furthermore, there is little opportunity for informal interaction: most non-Indian students are taken to school in buses and brought home for lunch and immediately after school; recess periods are spent in the school yard, each class playing in a separate area; there are no popular extracurricular activities.

Educational standards are established by the Province of Quebec, which sends inspectors on periodic visits and provides standardized tests for use at the end of each school year. Testing is modelled on the 'French System,' and a student must pass all subjects in order to be 'certified' for a given grade. Thus a poor or unqualified instructor can cause an entire class to fail, as happened in 1960 (cf. Table 6, 5th grade). One effect of this system, it would seem, is to discourage students who lack high motivation.

The curriculum is, of necessity, also standardized, for the students must be prepared for the examinations. In the early grades, Indian children get special instruction in English, which most of them learn as a second language. Thereafter, the curriculum is identical for all students. It consists of standard academic subjects (language, mathematics, history, geography, etc.), manual training for the boys, cooking and sewing for the girls, and religious instruction.

Religious instruction is given at every level in the school. This includes catechism and 'Bible history' taught daily in the classroom, occasional religious and moral lectures from the Sisters or Capuchin Fathers, and frequent assemblies for prayer, hymn singing, and various religious presentations. In addition, the children are required to attend Mass and Vespers at certain times of the year. Religious education is graded separately from the academic subjects, and a separate certificate is given to the student.

The school is one of the major institutions shaping the Restigouche community. It exerts influence in a number of ways, for example, in the scheduling of activities of individuals and families. In the absence of regular employment for family heads, or of other occupational routines, the school day and year provide a major framework for regular interaction. This is deliberately planned so as not to conflict with another major temporal framework for communal interaction: the Church calendar.

The population of the Province of Quebec is predominantly Roman Catholic. There is a long history there (and throughout Canada) of co-operation between State and Church, especially in Indian affairs. It is thus understandable that the provincial school calendar is adapted to and integrated with the requirements of the Church — its Sabbath, holidays, festivals, and other rituals. As we shall see, however, it is not so well integrated with the economic cycle of the community.

From early September until late June, the behaviour of most of the Indian children (from 6 to 16 years of age) is 'structured' by the weekly and daily rhythm of school activities. Attendance is required by provincial law and by the Indian Act. The Reserve constable — an Indian who is a special deputy of the RCMP — is responsible for enforcement of school attendance regulations. Recently, the Band Council arranged for the school bus, which brings children to the integrated school from outlying communities, to pick up Indian children who live at some distance from the school, at least during the winter months. In addition, the Council has instituted a curfew requiring Indian children under 16 years of age to be 'off the road' by the time a siren sounds — at 8:00 P.M. on school nights.

This scheduling of activities affects the adults as well. New clothing must be bought for the start of school; older children are not available during the week for daytime babysitting or chores; each day the children must be made ready for school, and sleeping and eating times adjusted to the school schedule. If the emphasis on these facts seems excessive, it must be remembered that one generally takes them for granted; but in a community such as Restigouche, with little agricultural or industrial activity, educational institutions may furnish the major temporal constraints upon behaviour.

The other major effect of the school upon the community is in the preparation of the children for a way of life very different from that of their parents. With few exceptions, the adult members of the Band have had at most a fourth- or fifth-grade education. Their attitudes, skills, and aspirations are those of the rural lower class. But their children will have new skills, different ideas, and probably different attitudes. This situation is so common in the twentieth century that it is almost the norm; but its implications for misunderstanding and conflict among the generations on the Reserve should not be overlooked.

The adults have a wide range of attitudes toward the school and toward education in general. Among the older and more conservative Band members one often encounters the attitude that 'too much learning' is in some way dangerous. The condition of two mentally disturbed (?) young men is explained (or excused) by reference to their 'reading all the time.' One hears remarks such as, "A man can get *too* smart. . . ." Many of the older people, however, regret their lack of education and pay at least lip service to the importance of schooling for the young people. One elderly man said: "The kids today have all the chances in the world for education, but they don't seem to understand this . . . if he's got ninth or tenth grade and can get into some kind of industry, he's got good chances." Others have higher ambitions for their children: nursing or teaching for the girls, professional training for the boys.

But there are a number of factors that produce negative feelings among the older students, which result in their leaving school as soon as they reach the age of 16. These include real or imagined slights from teachers, the authoritarian structure of the school, and the separation of the standardized curriculum from daily life. There is a growing feeling that, due to discrimination and general unemployment, real opportunities may not be increased despite further education.

There has been little overt conflict within the 'integrated' school, and the

sincere concern of the staff members, lay and '*religieuse*,' for the educational betterment of the Indian children cannot be doubted. But there are other factors operating to alienate the school from the community as a whole. These include lack of participation in the election or conduct of affairs of the all-French school board; distrust of the political and financial dealings of this board (cf. fn. p. 37); the widespread feeling that 'there is too much singing and religion' and not enough 'real education'; and lack of communication between the school and the community (a void once partially filled by the Homemakers Club for Indian mothers).

Also important is the fact that there is no cultural tradition of higher education among the Micmac; relatively few parents actively encourage their children's studies, though many say that they regret their own lack of education. In general, the situation is very similar to that described by Hyman in his study of value systems of social classes in the United States. Hyman feels that the relationship between low status and lack of mobility is mediated by

. . . a system of beliefs and values within the lower classes which in turn reduces the very *voluntary* actions which would ameliorate their low position. The components of this value system . . . involve less emphasis upon the traditional high success goals, increased awareness of the lack of opportunity to achieve success, and less emphasis upon the achievements of goals which in turn would be instrumental for success (1953:427).

Education is certainly a primary channel for mobility. But, despite the fact that it is currently the policy of the Indian Affairs Branch to encourage and finance all Indian students who have the desire and ability for higher education, values such as those noted by Hyman seem to be in opposition. (Two young men went to college, one to study engineering and the other to prepare for the priesthood. But neither completed his studies, and both are now married and living on the Reserve.)

Technical training of various kinds is, however, welcomed by many individuals. Through government-sponsored programs, young people have learned a variety of trades including barbering and hair-dressing, stenography, commercial art, welding, plumbing, carpentry, and auto mechanics. Two young girls from one of the wealthier families have completed nursing school, and others are attending, or hope to attend. Nursing and teaching are the ideal occupational goals of most of the older girls; having the Normal School located on the Reserve will doubtless increase the possibility of a teaching career for many. Boys aspire to such occupations as machinist, electrical engineer, pilot, and professional baseball player. But most of them are undecided and have made no plans for the future.

Even the few young Indian students who have definite goals in mind express serious doubts about the possibility of their attainment. This may be a realistic appraisal of their situation, but it tends to make them easily discouraged. The Agent, who says he has "given up on the adults," states that his own goal is "seeing that the Indian kids have an equal chance with my kids." But it will be many years before this is achieved.

Both the Agent and the Sisters view the school as an important instrument of integration. In a report dated February 1959, Sister Mary of the Holy Eucharist (the school principal) recommended a program for 'more rapid integration.' She suggested that "tuition grants for higher studies be main-

tained, vocational training encouraged . . . exchange English language for French but only gradually . . . the necessity of a Gymnasium," and noted:

The five years' experience acquired by the effective use of a simple skating-rink provided by the missionary priest has given us sufficient proof that a Gymnasium would be one of the best means to promote integration, meanwhile protecting our lively youths from delinquencies by giving them decent quarters where to spend their unused energies in leisure moments (p. 3).

It is no doubt true that interaction outside the rigid structure of the school (where French-speaking pupils are taught in different classrooms, and often different buildings, than the others) will be an important acculturative influence. How far this process will go depends upon a number of factors, of which the general economic situation is probably the most significant. But personal factors are also important: already a young French girl has been counselled by school officials against dating an Indian boy, causing doubt in the community about how much 'integration' is intended. Little effort is devoted to establishing two-way communication between the school and the community. According to several informants, the Indians did not know that there was to be an integrated school — or that it would be located on the Reserve — until after the arrangements had been made. They still have no influence upon the policies of the school. Incidents such as the pulling of a little girl's teeth on the first day at school, without informing her parents, are not calculated to establish confidence.

In summary, the school has two major effects upon the community: the imposition of a temporal framework, which structures the activities of most members of the community, and the furnishing of the younger generation with skills and attitudes unlike those of their elders.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Ecology and Economy

In the aboriginal period, the relationship between man and nature was relatively direct. The Restigouche Band had many of the characteristics of the 'composite band' sociocultural type common to most of the Northern Algonkians (Steward, 1955). Ecological factors were of considerable importance to the structure and activities of the group as a whole. The changes which took place following contact with the Europeans have been described above.

Today the relationship of the population to the physical environment is relatively indirect. Only one elderly man retains the necessary combination of skills and the desire to live off the land by fishing and trapping, and even he comes down from his mountain retreat twice monthly, to pick up social security and pension cheques at the post office and to get flour, clothing, and other provisions at the store. He is envied by many but emulated by none.

Similarly, only one man at Restigouche still practises the 'traditional' crafts of making splint baskets, axe-handles, and snowshoes (though only the making of the latter is a pre-Contact skill). This man, who was my main source of information on folk medicine (*see* Appendix, Section V), spoke of the forest as 'the Indians' treasure.' But the ash wood essential for snowshoe frames and basket splints is now extremely scarce in the Reserve area. Only one of this man's sons has learned the elements of the crafts, and these he uses, dressed in a syncretistic Indian 'costume,' to amuse tourists at a summer resort in New York State.

The Reserve woodlands do furnish firewood for most of the resident families. Many men cut and haul firewood for their own use or for sale to other Band members. But this resource too is rapidly diminishing, and trips of six to seven miles each way to secure a load are often necessary.

The woodlands furnish seasonal employment for several men who work alone or in teams cutting telephone poles, lumber, or 4-foot pulp logs. Though most of the adult males have the basic skills necessary to 'work in the woods,' only a few attempt to gain a major part of their livelihood in this way. The rest are content to make a few extra dollars by selling several cords of firewood or peeled pulp logs.

A sled, axe, and bucksaw are sufficient equipment for small-scale endeavours, but to cut lumber or pulp in quantity requires a team effort and more elaborate rigging: a gasoline-powered chain-saw, a trained horse, and preferably a truck. As the forest resources are rapidly being depleted, it is also necessary to negotiate with purchasers (through the Band Council) to have new roads bulldozed into uncut areas. The general practice is for the purchaser to buy wood at a lower price (\$9 rather than \$11 or \$12 per cord of pulp logs) until he recovers the cost of making the road. Government

surveys have shown that the Reserve woodlands will soon be completely cut over, but no action has yet been taken on plans for reforestation.

Wildlife resources are economically unimportant, though deer, rabbit, waterfowl, partridge, trout, eels, and an occasional moose or beaver add variety to the diet. A few years ago, one man shot five moose in a single season. That fall is still happily remembered: "Everybody had some that year. For a dollar, L . . . would give you a big steak; and if you didn't have a dollar, he'd still give you one!"

In the spring, a few families may gather maple sap on Reserve or neighbouring lands. A vestigial sense of traditional rights may be seen in the claim of one elderly man, by virtue of patrilineal descent, to a particular grove of maples. Blueberries are picked during the summer by individuals or, occasionally, by groups of women who hire a taxi to take them to a good spot where they celebrate their freedom from home and family with a picnic.

I regret that I did not gather more information in regard to fishing rights on the Restigouche River, for there are many conflicting stories about this problem. It appears that the Band gave up its fishing rights in exchange for certain guarantees from the wealthy fishing clubs upstream. The guarantees included regular jobs for Indian men as guides and, according to some informants, payment in cash and in a percentage of the fish caught by club members. In recent years, most of the guiding jobs have been taken by non-Indians. No one can recall when the last payment of any kind was made to the Band; but fishing wardens (licensed by the province and paid by the clubs) patrol the river, confiscating the nets of Indian and non-Indian poachers.

No Indian can remember ever having seen a copy of the agreement between the Band and the clubs, and there are many opinions about its exact provisions. I pointed out to the Chief and several councillors that (a) if there is *no* agreement, the Band should be able to exercise its normal fishing rights, and (b) if there *is* an agreement, it may possibly be voided, due to failure of the fishing clubs to make the stipulated payments. Despite the economic loss to Band members, no effort has apparently been made to halt the confiscations by bringing a test case to court.

Agriculture was never important on the Reserve — ten or twelve families at most are remembered to have had 'farms,' usually consisting of potato and grain fields, a vegetable garden, several cows and horses, and a few pigs. Today only one family practises agriculture, using the tractor owned by the Band; the crops include vegetables, potatoes, and hay and oats for the horses, which are also rented out for lumbering. In the summer of 1961 there were only a few vegetable gardens, and three families had a single hog apiece.

Actually, small-scale agriculture in this area is not sufficiently productive to provide a livelihood, even among groups with long traditions of farming. According to Hughes,

. . . from one-half to three-quarters of all the men of the Gaspé coast go into the woods to work in the lumber camps in winter. There are various seasonal combinations of fishing, farming, and work in the woods; although nearly all the men are listed as farmers in the census, few of them make their livings from farming alone (1943:17).

In 1960, several Indian families planted potatoes with seed provided by

the Indian Affairs Branch at 50 per cent of cost. But the crop was not very successful in relation to the amount of work required. Moreover, potatoes can be purchased at extremely low prices in the fall (e.g., \$1/100-lb.).

It seems clear that under present conditions the Reserve can provide a living for only a small portion of the total Band population.

The basic economic factor at Restigouche today is unemployment. This is prevalent in most of New Brunswick and eastern Quebec; the situation is aggravated at Restigouche by lack of education and by discriminatory hiring practices in the local area. Unemployment is offset to some extent by a liberal welfare policy. But, with the exception of two older men who for many years have held regular jobs in nearby towns, the Indians have only two economic alternatives: living on relief, and supplementing this with seasonal work in the woods, or as labourers, potato pickers, or domestics; or 'working out' in the cities of Eastern Canada or in New England.

Though there is a good deal of individual variation, this is the typical annual round of economic activities:

Early Fall — Families travel to Maine for the potato harvest, which lasts from four to six weeks. Afterwards, some single men and men with trades stay in Maine or go on to Massachusetts, Connecticut, or New York looking for work (mostly in industry or construction); others return to the Reserve to 'work in the woods' cutting pulp, logs, or firewood until the heavy snows. There is some hunting for partridge, deer, and moose, and snaring of rabbits.

Winter — Economically, this is the 'dead time.' Most people are dependent upon relief; some return from the United States, having lost or quit jobs. If the snow is not too deep, there may be some work in the woods, but it is done more to pass the time than for profit. The Indian Affairs Branch, together with the Department of Labour, may offer some kind of 'winter work program' to keep the men busy. Some women do sewing at home or work in Campbellton in private homes; the single craftsman makes axe-handles, baskets, and snowshoes to sell in town.

Spring — Employment begins to be available again: some men return to Maine for the river drives; others work in the woods or 'on the boom'; men with trades head for the cities. A little gardening is begun, though the last frost comes late.

Summer — By mid-summer, activity is at its height. Work programs and house-building provide employment on the Reserve; there is some guiding with the rich 'sports' who come from the United States. Some Indians work in the woods, but with the increasing heat more try 'picking pulp' (i.e., salvaging pulp logs which may — or may not — have escaped being impounded in the Frasher Company boom across the river at Atholville). Some men return to the Reserve to live on unemployment insurance, and to enjoy the fishing and baseball games; there is berry-picking for fun and for profit. Ste. Anne's Day (July 26) brings a large crowd, but afterwards activity slackens. There is talk about jobs, and crews are recruited for the coming potato harvest. The brief summer is soon over. School opens. And the cycle begins again.

I shall give further details on economic activities later, but first it would be valuable to consider the contribution to the economy made by welfare

payments. These payments come from different sources and for various purposes. Until recently, the largest contributor has been the Indian Affairs Branch; the figures given in Table 7 do not include capital outlay for welfare houses or the \$190,000 which was the Federal Government's share of construction costs on the new school building.

*Table 7—WELFARE PAYMENTS AT RESTIGOUCHE RESERVE,
APRIL 1960 – MARCH 1961*

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Food	\$ 62,000
Clothing	32,000
Fuel	9,000
Household Equipment	3,000
Foster Homes (10)	3,000
Education	30,000
TOTAL	\$139,000

In addition, more than sixty individual Indians receive monthly pensions totalling \$51,500 annually; these include invalids', old age, and veterans' pensions, as well as assistance to needy mothers and Social Security payments. A number of persons also receive some compensation for on-the-job accidents: though it is true that the men engage in fairly hazardous occupations, many seem to have a particular skill for suffering what they claim to be incapacitating accidents. When it is recalled that Band members pay no taxes, but receive free medical care and Family Allowance cheques, and that housing and repairs are now provided by the government, we can form an estimate of the sizeable contributions made to the economy in this way. The agent stated that every family on the Reserve received some form of relief, pension, or welfare assistance in the three years preceding 1961.

The Federal Government has furnished assistance of various kinds to the Band for many years, though the amounts involved have not always been so large. A former chief told of one Christmas during the Depression when nobody had any money; he related how, when a few hundred dollars arrived from Ottawa, it was quickly apportioned among the resident families, and he and the agent took a few dollars to each home. During the thirties, flour and clothing were regularly distributed on the Reserve.

The welfare budget of the Department has steadily grown. After the Second World War a small sawmill was set up on the Reserve where, for several years, lumber was cut for houses; the Department furnished other materials, and labour was supplied by the recipients. More than one hundred new houses have been constructed since 1946, most of them in the last few years. The Department now supplies plans, most of the materials except gravel, and a lump sum of \$500 per house for skilled labour; the individual for whom the house is being built, and any friends or relatives he can get to work with him, assist the 'head carpenter' with the construction.

Priorities for house building are decided by the Band Council in consultation with the agent (*see below*). Formerly, the agent was allowed a good deal of discretion (within statutory limits) in awarding most kinds of welfare

assistance, which was usually in the form of merchandise orders or goods. If he felt that a certain individual or family was not in need of assistance, he gave no relief. However, several years ago the maximum amounts which the agent could grant to families of various sizes became known on the Reserve; from that time, the agent was under considerable pressure to give the maximum to each family every month.

This situation formed the core of a persistent conflict between the Band and the Agency. As the Agent phrased it: "They [the Indians] think that the relief is due to them as a right; but it's not a right, it's an eligibility in case of need. It's not as if they had a treaty; treaty payments are made [to other tribes] over and above any relief given."

Most of the Indians *do* think of the various welfare services as a right — and small enough compensation for the loss of their former (aboriginal) lands, though they have little idea of the original extent of the lands or of the historical processes which led to their reduction. One young man, a staunch crusader for his rights, said, "We should get at least 10 per cent of everything the Europeans have made on our land." Others have more moderate views: "The agent is sent here to help us. I don't see why he doesn't give us what we need. . . . He has the money, but he's just mean."

A few of the people have some understanding of how the system works, but their usual attitude is that the agent should not be so 'strict' in applying the regulations. The chief is often appealed to for assistance, and finds himself forced into conflict with the agent, whom he sees as another victim of the system: "I haven't got anything personal against the agent . . . he's paid by the government to do his job, and the more he reduces expenses, the better his chance for a promotion. But if I co-operate with him, I won't get any promotion from Ottawa; I probably won't get re-elected!"

In any case, this source of conflict has now been virtually eliminated. As residents of Quebec, the Indians have been declared eligible for the provincial Public Assistance payments (and other welfare benefits) on the condition of a bi-weekly visit to the local unemployment office. A good deal of persuasion was required to overcome the initial resistance to this change, but the larger payments — made by cheque rather than merchandise orders — and the reassurance that they would still be eligible for the older type of federal relief if desired, have caused all but a few families to "come under the Provincial." The fact that relief is no longer handled directly through the Agency has so reduced tensions that the Agent reported: "Some people who haven't *spoken* to me in two or three years come in here now to talk and joke."

The monthly payments made under the Quebec Public Assistance Act range from \$85 for a childless couple to \$165 for a family with ten children. The transition to the new type of welfare was quite smooth, despite persistent rumours that money received from this program would have to be paid back, that free medical service would be discontinued for persons accepting the payments, and that men who applied for Public Assistance might be sent hundreds of miles away for jobs. Former opponents of the change seemed quite pleased with receiving the monthly cheques by mail: the trips to the post office and to the unemployment office are felt to be less humiliating than the periodic arguments at the Agency; not only are the amounts received

greater, but with the welfare office 200 miles away (in Gaspé, Quebec) one can pick up a few extra dollars by cutting or salvaging pulp without this being noticed. In general, the money can be spent where and how the recipient desires; only in cases of serious misuse will the Agency be requested to administer provincial funds.

Relief payments and other welfare benefits, if carefully used, are sufficient for subsistence. But the demand of recent generations for modern conveniences and comforts is steadily growing. Of the 150 Indian homes on the Reserve, a large majority are electrified, and most of these contain television sets, bought on 'time.' Perhaps a third of all houses have running water, and twenty-six have indoor toilets or bathrooms. About fifteen cars and ten trucks are owned by Indians; most of the cars have been used on many occasions as taxis, but only one man has a taxi licence (*see below*). Electrical appliances are also in demand: washing machines and electric kettles are common; grills, toasters, refrigerators, irons, and so on, less so. Wood-burning stoves are still the usual means of heating and cooking, though some have been converted to oil, and a few families with oil furnaces have installed propane gas cooking-stoves.

Other consumer goods — furniture, blankets, clothing — are also desired, and many families have spent money to paint and decorate their homes, or to have lawns and a few plants. (Though the welfare houses are built ready for occupancy, they are generally unfinished inside, with the floors and walls uncovered, and without plumbing, wiring, basements, or landscaping. Interior doors are not provided, and it is rare to see one in an Indian house. Cf. Adrien, 1954.)

Thus, although some individuals and families are content to get along on welfare payments and services, making a few extra dollars here and there and spending considerable amounts on drink (*see below*), the rising standard of living and the credit system have caught up with the Restigouche Reserve, and the need to meet weekly or monthly payments drives many to seek employment outside the local area.

I do not mean to imply that this is the only reason why Band members seek work. If suitable jobs were available locally, most of the Indians would very likely prefer regular employment to welfare, even if it meant only a small increase in their net income. The ideal situation, according to some, would be to attract some kind of light industry to the Reserve, giving various concessions so that employment would be assured. The agent has tried to find local employment for the Indians but has had little success: there are few jobs available, and local employers argue that the Indians will be 'taken care of' by the government, so the jobs go to non-Indians. On the few occasions when the agent has been successful, the jobs have always been for a short term, and the work performance of the Indians has not always been satisfactory.

The Reserve is an economic sanctuary for Band members, yet almost three hundred and fifty persons (including more than twenty-five families) have chosen to leave its security — many of them permanently — to seek jobs elsewhere. There are several basic patterns involved in this exodus:

(1) Young men and women, both skilled and semi-skilled, go to the cities of Eastern Canada and New England to look for jobs and excitement and,

sometimes, to get away from a difficult home situation. They generally start in one of the areas where they know other Band members — friends or kinsmen — are living: Millinocket, Maine, or Berlin, N.H., for lumbering; Montreal; Boston's south end; Worcester, Mass., for industry; Lawrence, Mass., known as 'Little Restigouche'; Hartford, Conn., or Brooklyn, N.Y., where some of the men, following the example of their Mohawk neighbours, have gone into steelworking; or Hoboken, N.J. These people may stay away for several years, but if they are working nearby or if they have cars, they will often return to Restigouche for Christmas, Easter, Ste. Anne's Day, and sometimes for the whole summer (Sindell, 1962).*

(2) Marriage is an important determinant of what happens next. In cases of inter-marriage with a non-Indian, under the present law an Indian woman loses her rights as a Band member. There are twenty-six such cases in the Agency records and, aside from one or two women whose marriages ended in separation, all have continued to live away from the Reserve. Sixteen Restigouche men have married non-Indians, and, of these, seven have returned to the Reserve to take up residence. If two Band members marry, they may establish a residence at the Reserve or continue to travel back and forth — at least until they have children of school age.

(3) It is extremely common, as noted in the description of the annual cycle, for heads of families resident on the Reserve to leave for periods varying from a few weeks to several months. What they do and how long they stay away depends upon their skill and their luck. Skilled woodsmen and boatmen are still needed on the river drives in the spring. (One older man who recently retired after twenty years with a Maine lumber company has been succeeded by his son.) Steelworkers, skilled tradesmen, and men experienced in general construction can usually find well-paying jobs, at least at some times of the year. But living expenses are high away from home, and liquor is easily available; often little or no money is sent or brought home from such a trip, and the family continues on relief or unemployment insurance. Occasionally one or more men will get an opportunity to work for several months in the Canadian North: there, the wages are high, the expenses low, and if the men stick it out, they often return with, or send home, large amounts.

Aside from working in the Reserve woodlands, there is only one economic activity which affects a large part of the population: this is the annual trip to Maine for the potato picking. I shall describe this activity in some detail because it casts light upon the general economic and social situation at the Reserve.

Aroostook County in the State of Maine has been for many years an important centre of potato production. In the fall of 1961 an estimated 144,000 acres of potatoes were to be harvested, with an expected yield of 235 hundredweight of potatoes an acre. To bring in this enormous crop some 30,000 labourers are required, for the potatoes must be got out of the field as soon as they reach maturity and before the heavy frosts arrive (ref. *Aroostook Republican*, Caribou, Maine, September 21, 1961, p. 1).

The technology of the potato harvest is relatively simple, but it calls for

*Sindell, Peter S., 1962. A preliminary exploration of Micmac acculturation in Boston. unpub. MS.

close co-ordination among the workers. On most large farms, the procedure is as follows: starting soon after sunrise, a tractor-drawn 'digger' travels up and down every third row in the fields; this machine turns up the potatoes, shakes off most of the clinging dirt, and deposits them on top of the ground; trucks loaded with empty barrels follow the digger and drop the barrels off at regular intervals; the pickers, each with his own potato basket, work in their respective 'sections' picking the loose potatoes off the ground, shaking off potato stalks which cling to the larger tubers, and emptying their baskets into barrels (to which each affixes a card carrying his code number for accounting purposes). The trucks return and, using a hydraulic hoist, load the full barrels; these are taken to the potato house, emptied into the bins, and returned to the field; this time the 'empties' are dropped on the already picked rows while the digger turns over new rows.

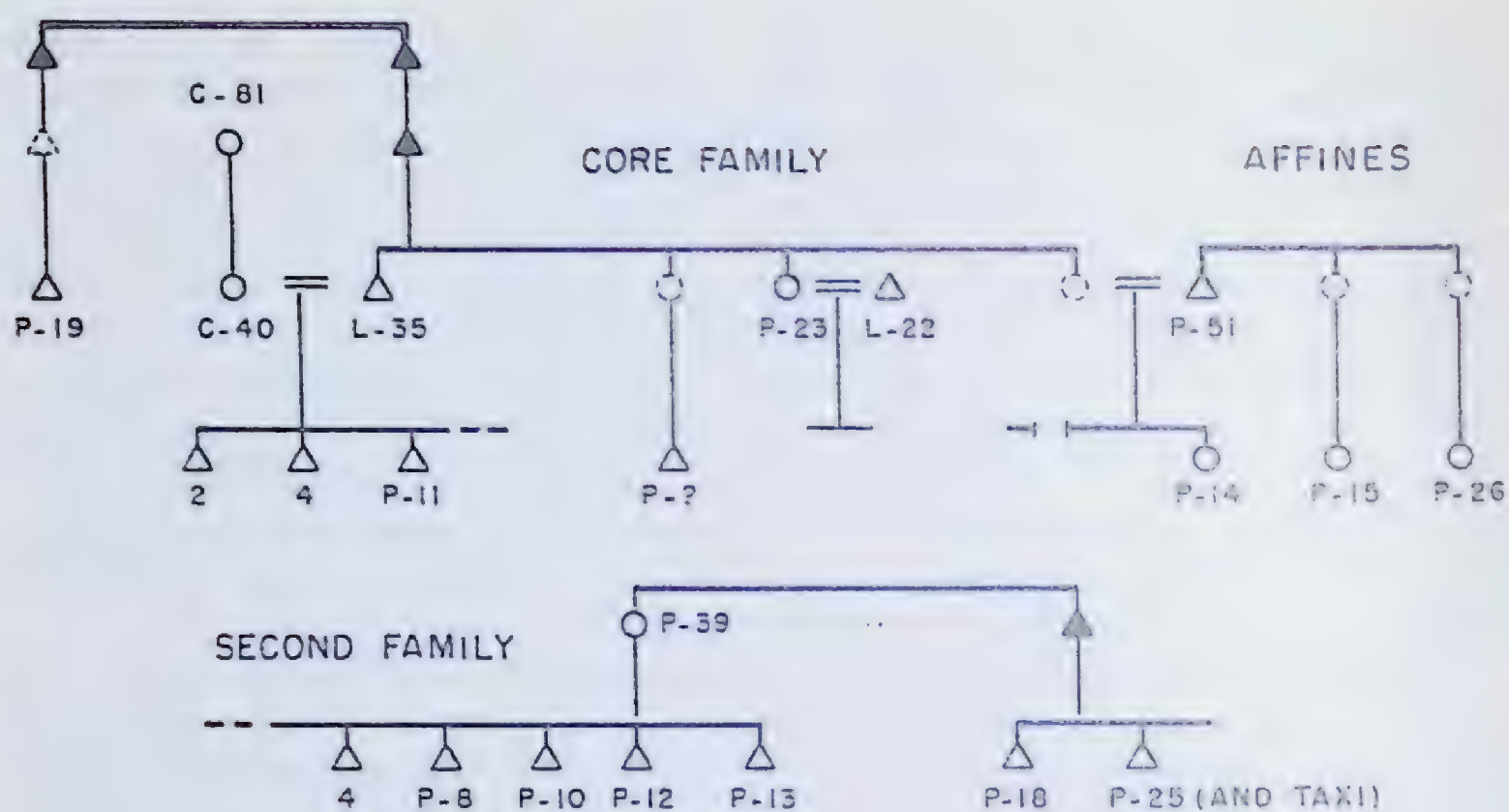
A number of factors determine the efficiency of the picking operation: the number of barrels is limited, so they must be kept in constant circulation, for a picker can fill his basket in about two minutes; the tractors are needed for other purposes — primarily to spray and 'roto-beat' the stalks in fields to be picked the next day; and the pickers must have sections proportionate to their abilities so that they will neither be left behind nor have too much time between trips of the digger. It is important that all the potatoes dug be picked the same day, for by harvest time there are light frosts almost every night, and potatoes left on top of the ground could easily be ruined.

Since the late thirties, Indians from Restigouche and from other reserves in the Maritimes have been making the annual trip to Maine. Some go individually, but most of them travel in crews recruited by an Indian 'jobber' who has agreed to furnish a certain number of pickers, loaders, or drivers for a particular farmer. (The farmer may drive up to the Reserve in a truck to bring his crew down for the harvest, or they may have to arrange their own transportation.)

The organization of these crews is one of the most interesting aspects of this activity. Depending on the size of the farm, the crews may range in size from four or five individuals to twenty or more. Arrangements are usually made for the crew to occupy an old farm house in the neighbourhood; small crews may board with the farmers themselves. In the former case, one or two of the women will generally act as cooks, being paid by the crew for their work. The leader of the crew may work in the harvest or act as co-ordinator, or both, assigning sections to the pickers, keeping accounts straight, shopping for supplies, and so on.

Crews may be composed of unrelated individuals, but in general a nuclear family will make up the core of a crew. Around this core may gather a number of relatives and friends. Figure 2 shows the composition of the crew with which the author worked.

As the figure shows, of the twenty-eight persons present, half are members or relatives of the core family. The second family is only indirectly related to the core family, though P-41 and C-40 were old friends. Three of the unrelated men were close friends and neighbours of the leader (L-35). P-31 and P-17 were brothers-in-law, and the only Indians on the crew from 'down the Mission' (i.e., east of the church on the Reserve). Two other crews investigated showed similar patterns.



UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS:

△ P-34 -- NEIGHBOR OF CREW LEADER (L-35)

△ P-32 -- NEIGHBOR OF CREW LEADER

△ P-49 -- NEIGHBOR OF CREW LEADER

△ = ○ P-31 P-17 -- FROM "DOWN THE MISSION"

△ P-27 -- ETHNOGRAPHER

FIGURE 2—Members of potato-picking crew, September 1961

KEY:

Numbers indicate age of individuals on crew.

Letters indicate function: C-cook; L-loader; P-picker.

Triangles are male; circles female; vertical lines show descent.

Filled-in symbols indicate *deceased* linking relatives.

Dotted symbols indicate linking relatives *not* present.

Thus kinship, friendship, and locality seem to be the major determinants of crew membership. This is hardly a surprising discovery, but one must note that the potato harvest is presently the only organized activity completely under the control of the Indians (except for the baseball team — *see* below). Though kinship was not an explicit consideration in recruiting the harvest team, it is evident that it is still of some importance.

Picking potatoes is hard, backbreaking work. The usual payment is 25 cents a barrel (approximately 220 pounds). Under ideal conditions, a good worker can pick 80 to 100 barrels in a ten-hour day; but wet or frozen ground can delay the start of work, and getting a poor section or failure of co-ordination of digger and loader-trucks can cut the total. The average picker is lucky to fill 50 barrels, and children may fill only 15 to 20 in a full day's work. Assuming good weather conditions, a family of two adults and two children could net more than \$400 in a four-week period. Actually, this

would be quite difficult. In 1961 it rained continuously during the early weeks of the harvest, so that living expenses rose, and transportation (for those who went back and forth) was costly. As our crew leader commented at the end: "Nobody made any money this year."

In an average season, individual pickers probably net between \$200 and \$300, and small family groups between \$300 and \$400. Loaders earn \$12 to \$15 a day, and jobbers get a few cents for each barrel their crew picks. The money is spent in various ways: winter clothing is purchased by many Indians, since it is cheaper in Maine than in Canada; others use their earnings for household improvements, or for down-payments on television sets and other appliances; but a considerable proportion is spent on alcoholic drinks. for there are no special restrictions on Indians drinking in the United States.

It would be a mistake to think of the monetary rewards as the primary motivation for potato harvesters. As pointed out above, the work is very hard, and the returns can be quite small. At the end of the harvest, most pickers swear that they will never do it again; but by midsummer they are again planning to make the trip. For 'picking time' represents, above all, a change from the ordinary routine: the women like to get away from household chores — they often leave the youngest children with a babysitter — and to travel to new places; the men look forward to the weekends in Caribou or Limestone, meeting and drinking with friends from Restigouche as well as other reserves; the young people like to get away from school and to meet other youngsters, with the possibility of sexual encounters. All of them relish the sense of freedom, the association with non-Indians on a basis of equality, and the unusual feeling of having money to spend.

The work involves friendly rivalry. In the fields and in the living quarters an *esprit de corps* develops quickly: the food is hearty and plentiful, and all the women work together in the kitchen after the evening meal; at night or on rainy days there are card games, drinking, and visiting between crews. Pickers are in demand everywhere, so that dissatisfied individuals can leave to join another crew at any time.

On Saturdays, picking ends early. The workers hurry to wash and dress, sometimes taking a light supper before getting their pay and heading for town. The streets of Caribou are crowded with people: the stores are open until late, and movie houses, pool halls, taverns, and restaurants are packed. Sometimes a few people who are not picking travel the 250 miles from Restigouche to enjoy the weekend excitement. The Indians tend to congregate together, walking the streets, sitting in restaurants, and drinking. Later on, the pickers return to the farm house with parcels and cases of beer and soft drinks. Some of the men end up in jail, but most straggle back early in the morning. Sunday is spent recuperating, playing cards, or visiting. Movie magazines pass from hand to hand; a guitar may occasionally drown out the portable radio. The children pitch pennies or toss a ball around. Monday morning, the work begins again.

Thus, although the monetary reward is limited, potato picking is an integral part of the economic activities of the Band members. Children may 'earn their clothes' for the winter or perhaps purchase a bicycle. For the adults it resembles, in its mobility and communal effort producing a brief period of

plenty, some of the aboriginal economic patterns, though there does not seem to be any direct continuity.

However, this activity has become the focus of a major conflict in the community. As noted in the preceding section, the school year is an important constraint on social behaviour. In Aroostook County, an accommodation has been made to the economic cycle: the schools open in August and then close during the four to six weeks of the harvest, while students and teachers take to the fields. But in Restigouche there is no such accommodation, and in 1961 fifty children, representing all grades, were absent during 'picking time.' In the past, the number has been greater.

The Agent, addressing the Band Council in August 1961, pointed out 'economic, educational, and moral reasons' against taking school children to Maine. The children earn very little, and since 1961 Family Allowances have been withheld for those taken out of school. They miss several weeks at the beginning of the term, and some never manage to catch up. Children should not be required to make money for their parents, he continued, especially where the labour is so hard, and where they are exposed to drinking and sexual improprieties. The crew that I observed was, on the whole, well controlled, but the Agent has had reports of children being neglected or allowed to get drunk; he also believes that many illegitimate children are conceived during this period (cf. Bock, 1964a: 145). However, women are often the best pickers, and babysitters are costly; so family units are the most economical picking groups.

With the transition to the provincial welfare administration, a new economic factor has entered the picture. Men who fail to report to the unemployment office every two weeks may lose their benefits for two or more months. (Formerly the agent would adjust relief payments after picking time for those who had gone to Maine, though few admitted to having made any money there.) Neither the new danger to welfare payments nor the Agent's appeals had much effect in 1961: close to 300 people from Restigouche 'went picking,' and among the fifty school children were those of the Chief and two of the councillors.

These economic sanctions, combined with the efforts of the agent and the priest to discourage the taking of children to Maine, may gradually have some effect. But at present, 'picking time' is firmly embedded in the annual pattern of the community — people orient their other economic and social activities to this period. One councillor phrased it simply: "We're used to it." Unless economic conditions change drastically, it seems likely that they will continue to make the trip to Maine, if only to experience a brief period with money in their pockets, living above the subsistence level provided by relief.

In past years, a few individuals from the Reserve have participated in commercial blueberry picking. The centre for this activity is also in northern Maine, but the harvest comes earlier than the potato picking. Organized crews from several other Micmac reserves have been 'going to blueberries' for several years. Partly because of contact with one of these reserves, resulting from an exchange of baseball games (*see below*), a few families and young men from Restigouche went to Maine in 1961 for this activity. The general reaction was one of dissatisfaction: the area was new, the techniques were unfamiliar, and the yield was uncertain, for there is considerable

variation among 'sections' of bushes so that equal labour does not necessarily produce equal returns. But the general organization is similar to that of potato picking so that, should the latter activity be discontinued, blueberry picking will be a likely alternative (*see* Bock, 1966).

Let us now briefly summarize the economic history of the Restigouche Band, with special attention to the Contemporary Period.

In aboriginal times, the Band was a territorial group with a hunting and gathering economy which was well adjusted to the plentiful wildlife of the area. The various extended families which made up the Band would winter separately, coming together in the spring for salmon fishing on the Restigouche and for common ceremonies.

The Early Contact Period (1504-1760) saw a gradual transition to dependence upon the fur trade to secure European materials, new staple foods, and brandy. There was a weak development of family hunting grounds, and the church became the centre of the summer residential community.

During the Later Contact Period (1760-1900) there was increasing year-round centralization (on the north shore at the site of the present Reserve), and trapping became secondary to lumbering and guiding, with some agriculture and crafts being practised. The commercial development of the area proceeded rapidly after 1830, and settlement by Europeans led to reduction in the size of the Reserve. Salmon fishing rights were leased to the clubs. The community took on the form it has today, with a loss of mobility and aboriginal skills.

Since 1900, the Reserve has been a relatively sedentary residential community, though the mobility of the population has again increased. Early in the century, men sought wage work in lumbering and with the railroads on the Canadian frontier. The mill brought a period of relative prosperity. But wages were paid in script rather than cash and could be spent only at the company store or at the one Indian-owned store on the Reserve. During the Depression, lumbering was the only work available to the men, but it was seasonal, and wages were low. The aboriginal skills and crafts were mostly forgotten, and there was increasing dependence on relief. Potato picking became established as a communal activity.

The Second World War found some men in the service while others took jobs in industry. Educational opportunities improved and, as new skills and desires were developed, new patterns of migration and of 'working out' appeared. Some Indians found a livelihood in the Reserve woodlands, in agriculture, or in running small shops on the Reserve, but most alternated between dependence on relief and travel to the lumbering or industrial centres of Eastern Canada and New England for jobs, many leaving the community permanently.

The economic situation of the Band is now tied to conditions affecting a broad area. The Indians are 'feeling their way' and filling those ecological-occupational niches which are open to them and for which they are qualified. Indeed, from one point of view, the Federal Government must be regarded as a legitimate source of 'resources and benefits,' which these people have learned to exploit in compensation for the land and fishing rights of which they have been deprived.

As responsibility for Indian welfare is increasingly turned over to the

provincial authorities, as federal benefits take new and increasingly conditional forms, and as educational and occupational opportunities become equalized, Restigouche will come to resemble its neighbouring communities more and more. The widely-held hope of re-establishing light industry on the Reserve may some day be realized, and then there will arise a host of new problems and changes. But for the present, considering the needs and skills of the people and the opportunities offered by the area, it is evident that migration, mobility, and relief will continue to be important parts of the economic life.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Religion

Of the three major institutions on the Reserve — the school, the Agency, and the Church — the one most difficult to evaluate is the Church. The Micmac have been nominally Roman Catholic for almost 350 years. At Restigouche there has been a resident priest for more than 100 years, and a Capuchin monastery for almost 70 years; yet Restigouche is still known as 'The Mission,' and the priest is officially considered to be a missionary.

The aboriginal faith is dead; any survivals are better treated as fragments of folklore (ref. Wallis and Wallis, 1953). Until recently (*see below*) there has been no serious 'rival doctrine'; many people are apparently 'firm in the faith.' There is an Indian choir at High Mass which sings the hymns and responses in Micmac; attendance at Mass is fair; indoctrination of the children would seem to be complete. However, two priests expressed to me their doubts as to the depth of religiosity of the Indians. And there is a subtle difference between the Indians and the French in the quality of their commitment to the Church. It may be due merely to my lack of acquaintance with Roman Catholic communities in other countries, but I sense that the Restigouche Micmac are more tentative in their commitment, less pious in their outlook, readier to suspect or condemn the priest, less informed concerning their faith, and more 'in' than 'of' the Church than might be expected after so many years.

Most disturbing to the priests, I believe, are the drinking, sexual licence, and lack of 'financial responsibility' of the Indians, whom they think of as simple and childlike. The Indians, though protesting their faithfulness to their religion, make a sharp distinction between the Church and its priests, whose authoritarian attitudes, meddling, and demands for money they strongly resent. The *curé* is accused of working hand-in-hand with the agent, favouring the French parishioners, being a 'businessman,' and taking advantage of the Indians: "Did you hear? The priest made \$8,000 on Ste. Anne's Day. . . . That used to be a big time for the Indians, but now it's all for the Church."

Of the contemporary priests at the monastery, only old Father P — is fluent in Micmac, and he commands general respect; but in a recent sermon (in English) he felt called upon to remind the people of the special status and authority of the priest as the voice of the Church: "Do not think of the priest as just another man. . . ." This is really a focus of conflict, for in religious as in political affairs, the Micmac find it virtually impossible to accept authority of any kind, certainly not when it is based on some kind of claim of personal superiority.

It is difficult to estimate the effect of religious instruction upon the young, or of priestly exhortation upon the adults. One young man attended the seminary for two years, and two girls started the Holy Rosary novitiate, but

none of them entered the religious life. In the absence of any alternative creeds, the attitude of most of the adults seems to be one of passive acceptance. As one woman said, on being queried on her beliefs concerning the afterlife: "That's what we were taught."

Participation in the weekly rituals seems to be quite general, but according to Adrien (1954:74): "L'abstention de l'assistance à la messe dominicale chez les Indiens est signalé dans tous les rapports annuels à l'évêché comme le principal abus." He reports that attendance at Mass during the week is negligible, that there are hardly any adult communicants then, and only a few on Sunday.

Il en va autrement des enfants, que les religieuses amènent à la confesse et aux divers exercices régulièrement. Mais il faut bien avouer que la plupart ne conservent pas ces bonnes habitudes après leur sortie de l'école, encore que la piété des enfants paraisse sincère (Adrien, 1954:74).

The missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, principally LeClerc and Maillard, did their best to create a version of Roman Catholicism which would be suitable for the Indians. This meant introducing prayers, hymns, and catechisms in Micmac, and special devotions, especially to Ste. Anne. They relied heavily upon the Indian women to preserve and teach the tradition to their children during the long parts of the year when the families were away from the church. There is general agreement that, for more than two hundred years, virtually all the Micmac were devoted Roman Catholics, even if their standards of 'morality' were not always those of the priests.

Adrien attributes the growth of indifference to religious affairs in part to the cessation of instruction in the Indian language, but also to "Les mêmes facteurs qui tendent à modifier leur culture profane . . . contact d'une civilisation matérialiste en rupture plus ou moins ouverte avec l'esprit du christianisme . . ." (1954:73). He also notes the presence of two groups with diverse languages and cultures within the parish; indeed, his main suggestion for improving the religious situation is to separate the Mission from the larger parish, though he recognizes the infeasibility of this solution since "ce sont les Blancs qui font vivre la paroisse" (financially), and it is unlikely that the Indians would consent to giving up their present church (located in the centre of the Reserve) (1954:78-9).

Adrien feels that "la cohabitation des Indiens avec les Blancs dans la même paroisse contribue à l'effacement graduel des traits spécifiques du catholicisme micmac," and that "l'état de 'guerre froide' subsiste encore longtemps" between the two groups (1954:79). He also attributes the Indians' 'abstentionisme' from the affairs of the Church to their dislike of working with or under the direction of the non-Indians. This is true, but it is only part of the story, for certain actions and attitudes of the missionary-priests have contributed to the alienation of many Indians from the Church.

I shall not be able to go into all the complexities of this situation but shall indicate the five main sources of conflict. These are land, money, favouritism, participation, and authority.

As is true of most American Indian groups, the Restigouche Micmac are extremely sensitive about anything relating to their land. The author's efforts were nearly compromised early in his study when he explained that his

intention was to make a 'community survey.' This was interpreted by some to mean that he was a 'surveyor,' and in a few days the rumor was widespread that he had come to 'divide up the land.'

There are many stories current about the origin of the 'church lot,' but it seems clear that this land was given to the Church by Band authorities some time in the mid-nineteenth century. The missionaries used it as a site for the church building and cemetery, and for their residences, though as we noted in Chapter Three, Father Saucier also ran a small store there in the 1860's.

With the coming of the Capuchin Fathers in 1894, the use of the land became more diversified. The church had burned in 1893, but a new one was soon built, together with a sizeable monastery, and gardens and orchards were cultivated. When the mill opened in 1905, the wharf located at Mission Point (*see map*) became a great centre of activity. The Champoux Company opened a trading store and built houses for non-Indian workers on land leased from the Church. During this period, the convent was also constructed on the church lot.

Though I have no evidence, it seems likely that these developments were resented by many of the Indians. For though the parish priest has regarded the church lot as his own property and as a means to raise revenue for the support of the church and monastery, the Indians still regard it as part of the Reserve and particularly resent the presence of the French-Canadian families in the newly renovated houses on 'the Flats.' Inter-group relations are today marked by coolness and aloofness, but formerly there was a good deal of open hostility.

As noted above, the new regional school was constructed on the church lot, apparently without prior notification of the Indians. In 1961, the old convent was moved back from the road, and a new dormitory (for Normal School pupils) was built adjoining the school and connecting with it. Tension over this new addition was reflected in arguments over the location of the contractor's shack (which was found to be several feet onto reserve land) and in persistent rumors that the priest was selling portions of the church lot to non-Indians and negotiating to lease a large lot by the highway for the construction of a hospital.

Rather than try to understand or sympathize with the Indians' attitudes toward their land (and the uses of the church lot), the priests try to minimize the contribution and the historic claims of the Indians. Thus, in a small pamphlet distributed at the church to tourists, there is no mention of the status or origin of the church lot, and the land problem is treated as follows (p. 2):

RESTRICTION OF THIS TERRITORY SINCE 200 YEARS

With the coming of the Europeans, it was necessary to give limits to the Indian liberty. By slow steps, the authorities established the system of Reservation.

[A brief summary of the settlement of the area is given.]

What compensations the Indians have received by being placed in Reservation, would you ask? They received free land [*sic*], free schools for their children, free doctors and hospitals or Sanatorium [*sic*] for their sick people. They actually received also from the agents, other help for urgent necessities.

In fact, they have more opportunities than their neighbors, to earn money and obtain their independence.

Even allowing for linguistic difficulties, the lack of comprehension of the Indian viewpoint is evident.

Money is a second major point of conflict. The parish priest is responsible for the finances of the parish. Father A —, who left Restigouche in 1961 after fourteen years of residence, was an able administrator who devised a number of means to raise money for the maintenance and improvement of the church. He ran bingo games and raffles and showed movies, made special appeals for various projects, rented the houses on 'the Flats,' opened a skating rink, increased the commercialism of Ste. Anne's Day, and tried to raise various church fees. A constant refrain among the Indians was that 'the priest is quite a businessman.' One informant said: "I guess they all want money . . . but at least Father A — shows you something for your dollar: he had the church painted, put in the new bells, and fixed up the cemetery." Nevertheless, many Indians were annoyed by the constant appeals for money. They gladly patronized the skating rink, bingo, and movies, but when it came to paying fees for church seats or burial, or making special contributions (other than at the Sunday collections) their attitude was: "We gave that land to the Church with the understanding that we'd never have to pay for seats or for burial; the priest makes plenty from all his businesses, so why should we pay anything?"

The priest's attitude is always the same — the Indians don't understand that it takes money to run a parish: "It costs \$1400 for insurance and \$1200 for heating . . . there are so many bills. . ." The church was partially burned and has been rebuilt twice in this century. Today it is beautifully decorated, and the monastery is a plain but attractive building with many modern conveniences. All this has doubtless cost a good deal of money. Has it resulted in the alienation of the Indians from the very institution which is supposed to serve them? Perhaps so. One of the nuns was very concerned that I get the 'right information,' e.g.: "The story got around that the Indians built this church; anyhow, that's what some tourists heard. That's ridiculous. Most of them give only ten cents on Sunday, and there are only five or six paying for their pews." But according to Father Pacifique, the Indians did build a chapel with their own hands in the 1840's (though this is not mentioned in the pamphlet referred to above). Clearly, some changes have occurred.

Though land and money are the main sources of conflict, the factors of favouritism, participation, and authority also contribute to the situation. Many Indians feel that the priest shows favouritism towards the French and other non-Indian people in the parish. Father A — recognized that they sometimes resented his help to the 'whites,' but felt that the Indians had the government to 'look after them,' whereas many of the non-Indians had nowhere to turn but to the Church. Though he tried to be impartial, his attitude came out quite clearly in one statement. He said: "I tell them, 'Keep your language and customs [i.e., costumes] but learn to live like French. . . I mean, like *White* people in your homes'."

The differential participation of Indians and non-Indians in various parish activities is also an important factor. For example, the one religious society (sodality) in the parish — the 'Third Order' — is composed entirely of non-

Indian women. One group of Micmac men is responsible for running the bingo games in the church basement, and another group intones the Micmac hymns at High Mass and other rituals. But Ste. Anne's Day, formerly the most important social and religious event of the year, has been virtually emptied of its Indian form and content — at least at Restigouche. Formerly a 'big time for the Indians,' it has become the main money-raiser for the parish.

Wallis and Wallis quote several descriptions of Ste. Anne's Day celebrations, past and present; they describe it as "the Micmac 'national holiday,' which was the union of the aboriginal summer council with the feast of Ste. Anne" (1955:283). Halleck's description of the celebration at Restigouche in 1868 (quoted above and in Wallis, 1959:60-61) includes few if any aboriginal features, but it was then an all-Indian affair including church services, feasting, foot races, and dancing. The following extract from field notes gives a picture of the celebration on July 26, 1961.

TOPIC: General Description of Ste. Anne's Day at Restigouche.

INFORMANT: Tom G — Jr.; others.

TIME AND PLACE: All day, Wednesday, 26 July.

The program of events for Ste. Anne's Day was announced in a placard one half in French, the other in English, which was displayed in many store windows. The morning was devoted to the "sacred" side — Masses every hour, continuous confessions, etc., while the afternoon was to include a musical concert at 2 P.M., special ceremonies including a blessing of the sick and a petition to Ste. Anne, and the baseball game (not listed). In addition, there was a continuous bazaar, a canteen, and "full-course" meals served by Indian women and girls in the church basement.

I arrived at the church around 9 A.M. At 8:00 there had been a special Mass for "pilgrims" from Maria Reserve, said by Fr. Provost. Six priests were on hand to hear confessions at all times, as a loudspeaker occasionally announced. The crowd was made up mostly of French-speaking people from neighbouring communities; several families or groups of young people came across with nearly every ferry; there were a number of Micmac, mostly the younger people in the morning — later, mothers appeared wheeling strollers and carriages. The bazaar consisted of the following: booths selling soft drinks, ice cream, french fried potatoes; a canteen with hot dogs, coffee, etc.; a booth with a variety of religious articles; one with women's hats (cheap) and miscellaneous articles; and one booth with Indian articles: bead bands, beaded picture frames and purses, baskets, etc., supervised by Mrs. J., who had made many of the articles (the baskets and small brooms were from Maria). Later in the day, Mrs. W.M. showed up with a large basket full of little beaded items — tiny purses, baskets, etc., and sold them from a place on the wall around the church. The basement of the church contained a "book section" — everything from religious comics to Fr. Pacifique's treatise on the Micmac language — and two long counters with a great variety of religious "souvenirs": images, medals, pictures, and dime-store junk with "Ste. Anne de Restigouche" inscribed on it. The size of the crowd fluctuated during the day but, assuming about 200 were in the church hearing Mass at nearly any given moment, I would estimate that the limits were between 300-800. In all, counting those just passing through for a half-hour, the celebration may have been attended by a total of around 1,000 people.

I wandered around the bazaar area for a while and then linked up with Tom G., Jr. We went into the basement together and joked for a while with the women and two girls working at the book counter. Tom seemed at some pains, both with the girls and with me, to express a rather irreligious (though not

quite sacreligious) attitude, with remarks such as, "Oh, I don't go for this religious stuff very much . . ." etc. Nevertheless, when he invited me to his house for dinner the following Sunday (to meet his father, primarily) he said that he probably wouldn't get out of church until 11:15 or so. . . .

A portable altar had been set up on the steps of the west wing of the new school building and, as Tom and I emerged from the church basement, the personnel for the "solemn High Mass in the open air" were assembling: a bishop and other Church dignitaries, accompanied by several of the monks and altar boys marched from the monastery, across the bazaar area, and up to the altar. A crowd of perhaps 200 gathered on and around a line of chairs in the schoolyard — the crowd appeared to be mostly non-Indian — and the Mass started about 10:15 A.M. Once the curiosity of the crowd near the monastery was satisfied, they returned to their secular enjoyments, though perhaps in a somewhat quieter tone. I wandered around, talking to a few people, and greeting A.M., who was now working at the french fries booth. The sacred ceremony was partially isolated from the secular affairs, but not fully so, for I noticed that it was only after the open-air Mass that a "wheel of fortune" (with fantastically biased odds for the "house") was brought out, and the public address system gave this new attraction a good deal of loud publicity. (Buying three "numbers" out of 60 for 25¢, a winner could gain only \$1, or a 4:1 return on a 20:1 probability; nevertheless, there were enough "takers" on each spin to cover most of the numbers.)

I attended the 11 A.M. Mass inside the church. The church was filled, mostly with non-Indians. There was a sermon, first in English and then in French, but I couldn't follow it at all due to the faulty loudspeakers and poor mike-technique of the priest. Many people went forward to take Communion. The only change in the church itself, aside from the use of beautiful altar-cloths, etc., was in a large table placed halfway down the right side, covered with candles in honour of Ste. Anne which had been accumulated during the nine previous nights of the novena. [There is a belief among the French and probably among the Indians, that a wish fervently prayed for on each day of the novena will certainly be fulfilled by or on Ste. Anne's Day. — Mme. P.R. — to LAB.]

Outside again, the canteen and downstairs restaurant were doing good business as was the french fries booth and soft drinks. I walked around a while — cars were coming and going — the grey clouds of the early morning had pretty well cleared away, and the remainder of the day promised good weather.

A.M. came home with me a little after noon for a cold drink and some lunch. About 2 P.M. he and I with LAB and the kids returned to the celebration. The band from Atholville never showed up, so we just wandered around talking to people and buying a few things. Talked with E.M., Tom G. (again), Mrs. W.M., F.D. (her father, the chief, never showed up), and many others. LAB heard from V.S. that the French war vessel (18th century) on display near the monastery was the one "the priests used when they ran away from France."(!) This notion that the Capuchins "ran away" or were expelled from France is quite widespread — will have to check on its historical accuracy; certainly the association with the warship is anachronistic but interesting.

We had dinner at A.M.'s and the team from Petite Rocher finally showed up, nearly two hours late, so there was a seven inning baseball game. After the game, I went with A.M. to the wake at Wm. M.'s house for his WiMo, who had died the previous day. Took a break about 11 P.M. and noticed that one or two booths were still open and 20 or 30 people still hanging around (many young kids) hoping for some excitement. By 1 A.M. when I left the wake, everything was closed, the lights were out, and except for a few more drunks on the road than is usual at that hour, everyone had gone home.

As the above excerpt shows, the event was totally devoid of Indian content and resembles the celebration of the patron saint's day in many small Roman

Catholic communities. By way of contrast, the celebration at the Big Cove Micmac Reserve the same year, which was organized by and for the Indians, had a very slight religious content. At Big Cove, the event lasted for a full week and was known as 'picnic time.' Activities included sale of various foods, indoor and outdoor dancing, open-air bingo, several carnival-type games, boat races, and a nightly talent contest including preliminary and final trials in a 'Miss Micmac' beauty contest. People from Restigouche were invited, and two afternoon games were played by the baseball teams of the two Reserves. Large crowds, Indian and non-Indian, attended all these events, which had been organized and financed by the Big Cove Band Council and its committees.

The differences between these two events are partly due to political conditions on the two Reserves (to be discussed below), and to the relative isolation of Big Cove from surrounding communities. But they are also due to the fact that there is no resident priest at Big Cove, while at Restigouche there has been a resident priest since 1843, and a Capuchin monastery since 1894.

Different conceptions of the authority of the priest over sacred and secular affairs are another major cause of conflict in the community. As we saw in Part I, the Church has had great influence over community affairs for years. We have little reliable information on the years during which the priest was also the agent at Restigouche, but it is fair to assume that this double role generated some conflict. One informant told me with pride that his great-grandfather had in 1890 been instrumental in the removal of a priest who had given a sermon stating that the Indians had to do his bidding.

Many of the conflicts discussed above relate to the question of authority: the priest considers himself the *spiritual leader* of the people in his parish and, as missionary to the Indian population, has special concern for the Indians' religious and moral behaviour; the Indians, however, tend to limit the area of the priest's concern and authority to strictly religious (i.e., ritual) matters, and sometimes even to the physical environment of the church area. As we shall see in the next section, acceptance of leadership is not a characteristic of the Indian group, and attempts by the priest (or the agent) to impose his will upon the people are met with resistance and hostility.

Nevertheless, the Church plays an important part in determining the structure of the community by the ways in which it organizes time and space, and by its patterning of interpersonal behaviour. Most of the people on the Reserve orient their behaviour in accordance with at least some of the beliefs and expectations established by the Church. These include the seven-day week with its day of abstention from work and attendance at Mass; the Church year with its various seasons and sacred holidays; the regular secular activities at the church; the doctrine and cosmology of the Church, including conceptions of heaven, hell, and purgatory, the afterlife, etc.; the life crisis rituals (baptism, marriage, extreme unction) and the obligatory periodic rites (Confession and Communion). Though there is great variability in the details of belief and behaviour, observations and interviews show that these and other conceptions promulgated by the Church have a pervasive effect upon the orientation and behaviour of members of the community.

The only other religious activity on the Reserve centres in the 'Bible

Group.' This group is composed of members of five families who have broken away from the Roman Catholic Church and set up their own mode of religious belief and practice. The relationships among these families and the locations of their residences are shown schematically in Figure 3.

The information obtained about this group is very difficult to evaluate. The group was apparently formed in 1957 when a young Indian named F— (one of the brothers in Family A) returned to the Reserve, having undergone some kind of religious conversion following a period of discouragement and illness. In a New York hospital he started to read the Bible for the first time and soon found a great improvement in his condition. Returning to the Reserve he began to spread his doctrine, which consisted primarily of a belief in personal literal interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, paired with a violent anti-clericalism. There was also a political component: F— is a student of law and of Indian history, and he felt that the priest, the agent, and the chief (with the councillors) were in league together against the interests of the people. He ran for chief in the by-election held in December, 1957, but of 221 votes cast for the five candidates he received only one vote.

F— was not successful in convincing his father, who has remained a relatively pious Roman Catholic; but he soon persuaded his mother to convert and (according to most informants) intimidated his younger siblings into

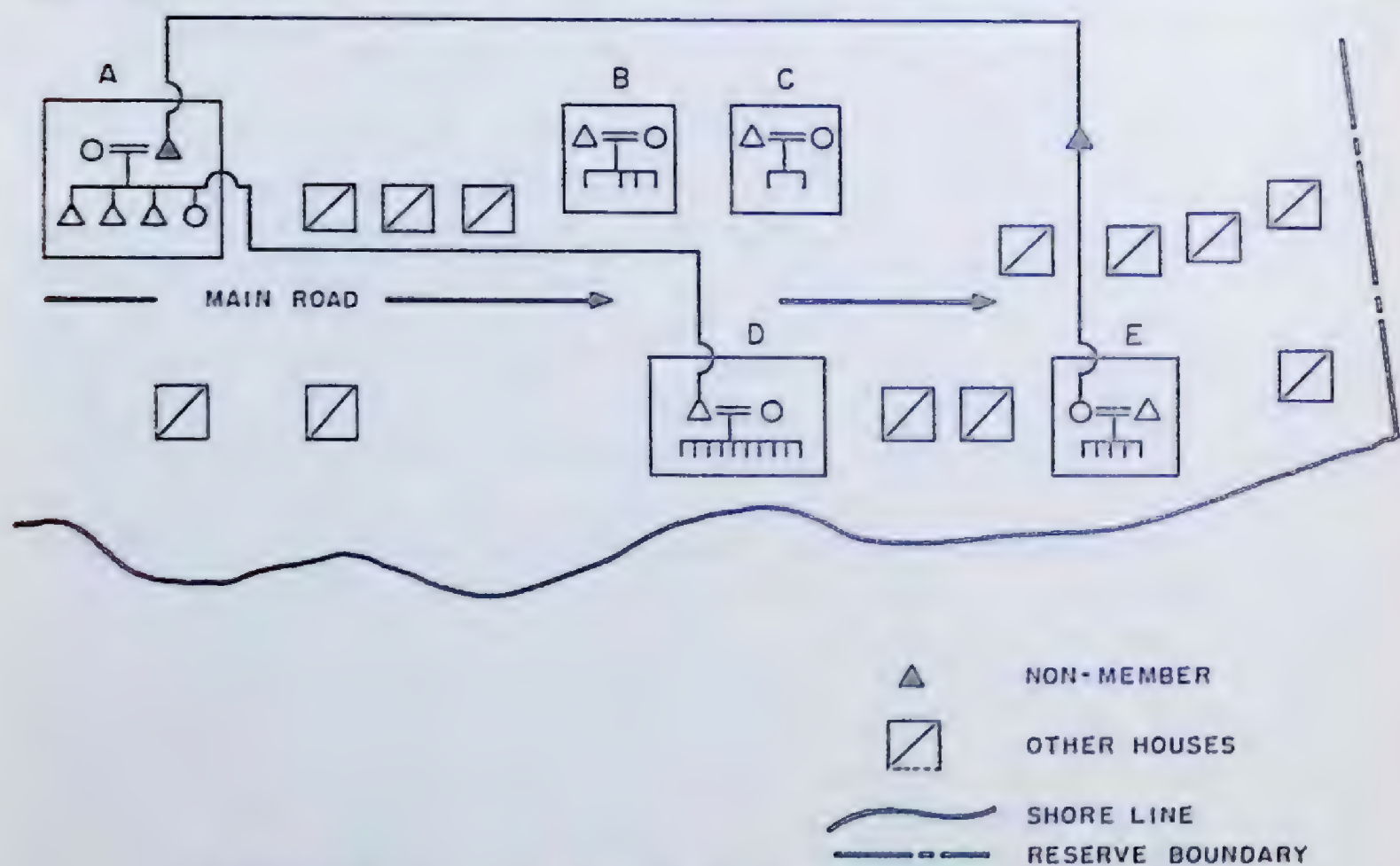


FIGURE 3 — Location of and relationships among members of Bible Group, 1961 (schematic)

accepting his ideas. The four other families in the Bible Group include those of his elder brother (D), his father's brother's daughter (E), and two neighbours (B, C). (An elderly ex-chief, related to the wife in family 'B,' was also involved, but he returned to Roman Catholicism during a serious illness. He has since died.) The Group has no unified theology but engages in the following practices: Bible study (singly and together), healing by prayer, abstention from liquor and from certain foods prohibited by the Old Testa-

ment, observance of the Saturday Sabbath and certain Jewish holidays, non-observance of Roman Catholic rituals, and participation in various secular activities — including group picnics, communal gardening, and building of a camp 'up in the woods.'

In its early days, the Group was associated with the efforts of a local group of Jehovah's Witnesses to evangelize the Reserve and, though any direct association is denied by F —, many Indians still refer to these families as 'the Jehovah's.' Members of the Bible Group make no secret of their anti-clericalism. By forbidding their children to participate in religious exercises at the school and by keeping them out of school on Jewish holidays (the occurrence of which is calculated by a lunar calendar), they point up the close relationship and co-ordination between the Church and the school. Some members make a point of working on Sunday, deliberately hanging out clothes or chopping wood when others are returning home from High Mass. Members of the Bible Group ostentatiously cleared their homes of Catholic images and ritual objects, substituting for them Bibles, lecterns, and displays of magazines or books on religious topics.

Needless to say, the Group has met with considerable opposition. Though most of the Indians do not object to the beliefs of the Bible Group members, they were upset by several incidents involving physical violence within the members' families, by attempts at proselytizing, and by the deliberate ridicule of Roman Catholic beliefs and practices. On one occasion several men of the community banded together to provide moral and financial support for one of F —'s younger brothers, who had been forbidden Confirmation. They bought him the necessary clothes and saw him through the ceremony despite the opposition of the Bible Group.

Matters came to a head in 1959 when the Band Council unanimously passed a resolution calling for the removal of members of the Bible Group from the Reserve. The Agent forwarded this resolution to the Regional Office (noting that the Group had made a nuisance of itself, and that the Council had insisted on passing the resolution). It was immediately disapproved since it was clearly illegal, violating the Indian Act and the civil rights of the Group members. The Group gradually gave up its proselytizing efforts, and the situation became calmer as the members became immersed in their personal affairs.

By 1961, aside from disputes about religious education in the school and about keeping the children out of school on certain holidays, the Group had apparently become an object of amusement rather than of hostility. The Church adopted a policy of waiting rather than of prosecution of the 'heresy': Father A — (who was himself a keen student of the Bible) said, "I have given up arguing with them. It does no good — as soon as I show them something they skip to another part of the Bible that has no relation and say, 'What about this? What about this?'" One of the families has drifted toward the Salvation Army; another has adopted a fundamentalist viewpoint under the influence of a radio preacher. The head of one family spent several months in a Quebec mental hospital; he returned to the Reserve with an individual point of view, being extremely sceptical of all established doctrines. His illness confirmed the opinion of many of the other Indians that Group members are 'half-cracked.'

Although the Group has been limited in its membership and will likely disintegrate in the near future, the very fact that it could come into existence on the Reserve, the type of open hostility to established institutions which it manifested, and the reaction of the others to its presence and policy are of the greatest interest.

Briefly, it may be stated that the adults who became involved in the Bible Group were discontented with the religious or political institutions of the Reserve, or held a grudge against both. Whatever one may think of their ideas, there is no doubt that it took courage to stand up to the established institutions and the weight of public opinion. The reaction of the rest of the community indicated that the Group was regarded as more of a nuisance than a threat — few if any of the Indians understood the theological implications of the 'heresy,' and the priest's decision to ignore the Group has probably contributed to its decline. The Group's policy contained no positive 'nativistic' elements and was essentially one of negation. The priests are 'devils,' the agent, chief, and councillors 'a bunch of crooks.' One woman, speaking of her years of Roman Catholic worship, said: "I feel foolish when I think of all the things I used to do. Now that I have the Bible, I just put that religion up there on the shelf and look at what I've been through and thank God that I'm out of it."

The emergence of such a minority group may be interpreted in many ways. I prefer to see in it a confirmation of my estimates of discontent and lack of commitment present in the community. Some members have used the Group as a way of defying certain figures in authority, but for others it seems to fill a definite social and intellectual need. Only time will tell whether the Group will continue, or whether it will be succeeded by some other form of protest.

CHAPTER NINE

Leadership and Organization

"I don't understand the people at Restigouche. They can't get together to do anything. And if they do start anything, they get tired of it in a few days and say, 'forget it . . . it's too much trouble.'" "M—was about the best chief we ever had, at least until he started thinking he was high and mighty. . . ." "P — started off pretty good as chief, but after a while he started acting like a dictator — walking around the Reserve dressed up in a suit . . . the people don't like that kind of thing." "When he ran for chief, all the people said, 'Old J — hasn't ever done a day's work in his life; maybe if we elect him, we won't have to work, either.'" "Why, J— is the best chief we ever had on this Reserve; he's always friendly, and he'll help you. . . ." "The trouble is, we're not *organized* here." "They're a bunch of crooks!"

These few quotes from various informants illustrate almost as much about the situation on the Reserve in regard to leadership and organization as I shall be able to relate. The conditions are similar to those found on a great many American Indian reserves. As Sayres pointed out in his study of a Nova Scotia Micmac reserve, chiefs were never of great importance in Micmac social life, and on the modern reserves the people's "life interests are perhaps more heterogeneous than ever before" (1956:11). This diversity of interests and lack of strong leadership structure, combined with traditional patterns of egalitarianism and avoidance of interpersonal conflict, make it virtually impossible for unity to be achieved, decisions to be made, support to be solicited, or opposition to be heard (cf. Banfield, 1958).

As we learned in Part I, until 1898 chiefs were chosen by general male consensus (with the consent of the priest); they served for life. Their main functions, once hunting had become a secondary activity, were to arbitrate minor disputes and to work with the priest-agent for the good of the Band. Ability to speak English or French or both was particularly important; Polycarpe Martin, the last chief chosen by consensus, served for many years as interpreter in the Church.

With the change to the elective system, formal political organization followed the model set by the Indian Act. The chief and the four councillors served primarily as mediators between the people and the Department, now represented by a resident Indian Agent. In 1952, the term of office was changed from three to two years, women voted in the election for the first time (though to this day none attend the nomination meeting), and the number of councillors was raised to seven (later to eight and finally to eleven in 1958). Of the sixteen men elected chief since the turn of the century, six have served a second term, and one has served for three terms. Two chiefs and several councillors have resigned (*see* Table 2).

The chief and the councillors are elected by plurality and on the basis of

gossip, personal friendships, and promises. All elected officials are thus responsible to the community as a whole. This leads to an unfortunate situation. The representatives are expected to 'get things' for their constituents; the only way they can do this under the bureaucratic system is to work closely with the agent, trying to understand the intricacies of federal policy and legislation, and following through on legal and consistently formulated programs and demands. But uneducated and poorly informed individuals are often elected, and any representative who tries to co-operate with the agent is suspected of 'collaboration' and accused of self-seeking, perfidy, and a variety of misdeeds.

To develop responsible leadership and long-range programs, continuity of some kind is essential. The two-year terms with the possibility of a complete change in Council membership make this difficult; but there is another pattern which makes it nearly impossible. It is agreed by all informants that, once elected, a chief and councillors immediately become the objects of demands, suspicions, and criticisms; whatever action they take (or fail to take) is cause for complaint by some part of the community, and attempts to work with the Department or local authorities soon break down. While this sort of situation is not uncommon in other types of communities, it seems exaggerated on the Reserve. The present chief was elected over three other candidates, receiving a sound majority (65 per cent of the votes cast); yet less than a year after his election I had great difficulty in locating anyone who would admit having voted for him, much less to supporting his policies.

The reasons for this are partly in the nature of the system. The Band Council has been powerless for so long that people do not take it seriously. The most sophisticated councillor calls it 'a mockery.' Yet each election raises hopes for a 'new deal,' and these hopes are necessarily frustrated. The new chief or Council member soon learns that the Council has no true autonomy, or authority to legislate concerning any but a few petty matters; most by-laws and all resolutions concerning expenditures of any kind must be approved by the Indian Affairs Branch. (Authority to make expenditures out of revenue funds is delegated only to those reserves which have proved themselves 'capable' of conducting their own financial affairs.) Revenue funds at Restigouche are derived from interest on the Band's \$16,000 capital fund, from two taxi licences, and from stumpage payments for lumber cut on the Reserve. The total annual income seldom exceeds \$1,000, most of which is committed in advance to the utility company for street lighting and to the Council secretary as salary.

The Council is simply not permitted to learn by making mistakes, since any 'unwise action' can easily be prevented by the agent or by his superiors. Neither is continuity of membership in the Band government sufficient to allow for improvement in performance. A young man who had attended a government-sponsored 'leadership workshop' expressed his opinion thus: "They lectured us on what we should do and what we shouldn't do . . . there was a lot of singing and dancing . . . but I really don't know what it was all for." (He was quite passive during the Council meetings I attended.)

Lack of internal communication, ignorance, suspicion (justified and unjustified), petty corruption and favouritism, lack of any real authority, failure to plan ahead, lack of adequate training or continuity, and absence of

any mechanism ensuring responsibility of the representatives to their constituents all plague the Band Council, as they do many municipal governments. But at Restigouche one must add the factors of long-standing dependence upon, and manipulation by outside agencies; a history of exploitation; alienation of the younger, more educated Band members; and a 'fierce egalitarianism' which responds to authority with resentment.

The pattern of *avoidance of interpersonal conflict* seems to prevent any explicit polarization of opinion which could result in formulation of policy (Simmel, 1955). Though there may have been political factions in the nineteenth century (as discussed in Chapter Three), there do not seem to be any today — at least their existence was vigorously denied by all those questioned. A few of the older men and several large families do exert influence, but not in any consistent way. Where a candidate lives sometimes affects votes: one man said that he voted for a neighbour in the 1958 election because "I don't know either of the fellows, and I figured it couldn't hurt to have a chief just across the road — but I've got my pension and don't have to go to the chief for anything." But one young woman said: "I told D — that I wasn't going to vote for him for chief even if he was a neighbour. He wasn't any good for the job."

Evidence against the existence of factions and for the avoidance-of-conflict pattern is found in the story of the most recent 'petition against —.' This petition called for the resignation of the present Chief. Its originators were the only two candidates for chief in the 1958 election, both of whom had been roundly defeated by J — in 1960. After the petition had been circulated, they left it at the Agency office, instead of presenting it to J. The Chief, most reluctantly, and only after constant urging from the Agent, called a meeting of the Council to ask what it thought he should do. Though five of the eleven councillors had signed the petition, when it came to a face-to-face encounter with the Chief only one longstanding opponent spoke at all, and he mumbled something about 'giving the councillors more responsibility.'

Similarly, at a meeting of landowners called to discuss the proposed sale of a strip of Reserve land to the provincial government for a new highway route, it proved virtually impossible to get an individual expression of opinion on the subject: "Oh, I'll go along with anything the majority says." The Agent finally got agreement of a sort; it appeared that all eight of the landowners were willing to sell their plots. But while the Agent was preparing a statement for the men's signature, a ninth man entered the office and declared himself against the plan, giving no reasons. By the time the Agent had finished preparing the statement, not one of the landowners was willing to sign it. Afterwards I asked one of the councillors who had observed the proceedings what had happened; he replied: "Well, I guess nobody wanted to offend old T —." The Agent was puzzled: "I wish I could find out what it is these people want."

I attended several meetings of the Band Council, ranging in formality from a full-dress 'model' meeting at the Agency Office, complete with reading of minutes and relatively orderly proceedings, to an extremely informal gathering at the Chief's house with no quorum, little order, and deliberate exclusion of the Agent and of two 'opposition' councillors. (No public meetings were held during the period of field-work.) My general impression was that the

men were quite good at handling affairs with which they were familiar, such as lumbering rights and pricing. (Most of the councillors were experienced woodsmen.) But even in these there was an extreme reluctance to face a conflict situation: the men preferred to lose money on a pile of pulp logs rather than challenge the scaler's estimate of the number of cords in the pile.

The initiative for considering most topics comes from the agent. Table 8 shows initiation and receipt of gross interaction during a thirty-five minute discussion of the new relief system. Interaction was recorded by a modified system of Interaction Process Analysis (Bales, 1950).¹

Table 8—INTERACTION DURING A RESTIGOUCHE BAND COUNCIL MEETING, JUNE 13, 1961

		TO								Grp.	Total Initiated
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
F R O M	Agent—1	x	15	—	6	1	—	3	7	35	67
	Chief—2	22	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	29
	Coun.—3	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
	Coun.—4	3	—	—	x	1	—	—	—	—	4
	Coun.—5	1	—	—	1	x	—	—	—	2	4
	Coun.—6	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	0
	Coun.—7	3	—	—	1	1	—	x	—	3	8
	Coun.—8	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	14
	Total Received	39	15	0	8	3	0	3	7	51	126

As the matrix shows, the Agent dominated this part of the meeting, both initiating and receiving the lion's share of the interaction; he addressed more than half of his remarks to the group as a whole (35/67) and engaged in several other exchanges with the other high initiators (the Chief and No. 8). The protocol reveals that he was often drawn into these exchanges: he would address a series of remarks to the group, and the Chief or No. 8 would start saying 'yes' or grunting agreement; before long, he would be talking directly to one of them. The rank order correlation between initiating and receiving interaction is very high.

Although it is not required by the Indian Act, there is a general expectation that the Band Council will meet at least once a month. It is the responsibility of the chief to call the meeting; however, if there is pressing business which demands the action of the Council and the chief has not called a meeting, the agent may take the initiative and send out written notices to the Council members. Five of the eleven councillors and the chief must be present for a resolution to be passed. Attendance at meetings is quite variable: if a question of general interest is to be discussed (such as the choice of families to

¹In scoring interaction among Band Council members, I employed an eight-category system. The categories used were as follows: asks for/gives information; asks for/gives opinion, gives suggestion; gives order; shows tension; shows tension release.

Only gross interaction has been used in constructing Table 8. Further analysis of the material in my notes will be undertaken in the future.

get welfare houses), nearly all the councillors will usually be present; at other times it may be difficult to raise a quorum.

Most of the Council members are familiar with the rhetoric of democratic politics and express, individually and jointly, the desire to effectively represent their constituents, or, as the present Chief says, "to help my people." But from the evidence available, it seems that past and present Council members have been largely concerned with 'helping' themselves or their families, and with 'fighting' the agent.

The Council's main concerns are administering the land and natural resources of the Reserve and getting as much welfare assistance as possible from the government. What power the Council has comes from its limited control over the allocation of these 'goods,' and over some quasi-patronage positions. Since relief is now handled by the Province of Quebec, the main 'counters' in the political game played on the Reserve are houses and building materials, timber, land, and jobs.

Houses are built with funds allocated by the Indian Affairs Branch to the Agency; standard plans and most materials are also supplied through the Branch. Recipients of welfare houses are selected in the following way: A list of families needing new houses (or major repairs on older houses) is drawn up and discussed in Council. Reasons for getting a house include marriage, family growth, return to the Reserve of a family which has been 'away,' or loss of a house through fire or disrepair. Those on the list are then assigned priorities by means of a secret ballot, and when the final appropriation is received, those with the highest priorities get houses. Thus cases of extreme need are met, and there is enough flexibility in the system to ensure that the needs of Council members, their relatives, and their friends are satisfied. One ex-councillor concluded his reminiscences of his term in office with the remark, "Well, anyways, I got my house." The agent could, presumably, veto any flagrant abuses, but it is in his interest to work with the Council in this matter to ensure its co-operation in other affairs. The two top priorities in 1961 were voted to the Chief and the Chief's father and, though the Agent made a few adjustments in the rest of the list, he left these alone. Building materials for minor repairs (e.g., shingles, windows, or insulating boards) are granted more freely; when available, they are usually dispensed at the discretion of the chief or one of the councillors.

Timber on reserve land may be cut by any Band member, so that there is little opportunity for political use of this resource; but price agreements with outside purchasers (to buy wood or to build logging roads) are made through the Council and, though the agent keeps a close watch on these transactions, the agreements may still be influenced in various ways.

With the great increase in population of the last few decades, land suitable for house sites has become increasingly scarce. Furthermore, since the bridge linking Restigouche with Campbellton was begun, property on the Quebec side has risen in value (partly because of a favourable tax differential). Thus the unused Band land controlled by the Council has become more important, as has individually-owned land on the road leading to the bridge. Already one Band member has leased a sizeable plot near Cross Point to a non-Indian entrepreneur (with the permission of the Council); the lessee has erected a large garage and restaurant on this choice location. The Chief,

quick to learn, attempted to purchase the adjoining property for \$25 — allegedly as a house site — and he silenced the opposition with a *quid pro quo*. (The relevant resolutions were put through the Council after the Agent left the meeting but were rejected by the Indian Affairs Branch.)

Finally, the Council controls, directly or indirectly, a number of jobs and, though the amount of money involved is small, these constitute the only 'political plums' available to the population. The jobs include the secretaryship of the Council (formerly held by a young woman with secretarial training and now by the Chief's brother-in-law); supervisory assignments on government-sponsored public works projects (usually taken by the councillors themselves); and miscellaneous construction jobs on the Reserve, or in the local area where the agent has arranged to have a certain number of Indians employed. The Council also selects the Reserve constable and decides who will maintain and operate the Band tractor.

These jobs are listed only to indicate the informal powers which have been developed by the Band Council. Their existence would hardly surprise anyone familiar with community governments, but it is interesting to note that, even with the great limitations imposed by the Indian Act, the people have found ways of 'working the system' (cf. Goffman, 1961).

Unfortunately, I was unable to observe an election during my stay at Restigouche, but it is possible to picture one by means of various reports and Agency records. Until 1952, no woman had ever voted on the Reserve. In that year, the election was declared invalid by Ottawa because women had not been included in the list of voters. It was held again, this time with women included: the results were virtually identical with those of the first election, but the greater turnout (217 as compared with 125) indicates that the women took readily to their new rights. The consensus among the men today is that women have no place in politics, and until the period of this study no women had ever attended the nominations meeting or run for office.¹

Nominations are held a week or more before the date of the election. Candidates for councillor seem to be proposed more or less on the spur of the moment, and there is a good deal of 'you-nominated-me-so-I'll-nominate-you.' But men are more reticent about running for chief: the successful candidate in 1956 was nominated and elected against his wishes, and the 1958 winner was only persuaded to run for office at the last minute because "otherwise there would have been no contest since only A — was going to run." Campaigning consists of 'going around' and 'making promises,' often including 'getting rid of the agent,' as well as specific individual benefits. The election is decided on the basis of gossip and judgment of which candidate might 'get the most from the government,' though ability to use English and lack of authoritarian tendencies are also considered important.

To sum up, the political situation at Restigouche is not unlike that of many a 'small town in mass society' (Vidich and Bensman, 1958), and its resemblance to the southern Italian commune described by Banfield (1958) is quite remarkable. But on the Reserve, the problems faced by other similar communities are magnified and complicated by the cultural and

¹This historical pattern was changed in the fall of 1962. Three women 'just happened to be around' at the nomination meeting. One of them was nominated for councillor and was then elected to that position.

institutional factors mentioned above: the patterns of avoidance-of-conflict and 'fierce egalitarianism'; the lack of continuity in administration, of responsibility to constituents, or of any real political power; and the pervading negative and suspicious attitude toward anyone in a position of authority.

Added to these is a general uncertainty about the future and a fear of any change which might result in a loss of 'Indian rights.' Nevertheless, there is a desire evident in the community, particularly among some of the younger, better educated, and more industrious individuals, to end the dependent status of the Band. At present, economic conditions make it likely that precisely these individuals will leave the Reserve, temporarily or permanently. But if the general apathy and lack of realistic planning for the future are to be overcome, the efforts of these young men and women will be required. The dominant institutions — Agency, Church, and school — will have to cooperate by helping the Council and the people to formulate and carry out their own programs, learning by their own mistakes. This long (and often painful) process, it is hoped, could develop an institutional framework and decision-making processes more suitable to the community than those which have been imposed from without.

CHAPTER TEN

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

In 1911, Wallis noted:

. . . the Micmac have a fairly simple system of kinship terms, differing little from our system. The terms do not distinguish between maternal and paternal kin. On the other hand, they carry certain age distinctions which our terms lack, connotations of married or of unmarried, and a term of connoting all married siblings. Direct descendants and ancestors are designated for four generations. . . (Wallis and Wallis, 1955:230).

He further observed that "in 1953 the distinctions made in speech were, in Quebec and New Brunswick, identical with those in English, though spoken in Micmac" (1955:231). My data substantiate the conclusion that the kinship terminology presently used at Restigouche is, in effect, a translation of the dominant North American system, except that terminological distinction between elder and younger siblings is still obligatory. All informants questioned were entirely comfortable with the English terminology, and some inserted the English terms into Micmac utterances. I shall first list the terms and then discuss the significance of some of the variants.

<i>Micmac Term (and Variants)</i>	<i>Kin Types</i>	<i>English Term</i>
nImIckamIc nuc (dadad)	FaFa, MoFa Fa	grandfather father ('daddy')
nogomic	FaMo, MoMo	grandmother
Ankic (kiju)	Mo	mother ('mommy')
AnkwIs	So	son
Antus	Da	daughter
AncIgAnAm AnsIs	YoBr } ElBr }	brother
nAmIs, nAmsIs Ankwejic	ElSi } YoSi }	sister
wIjIgAdiEk nujic	Br, Si SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa; spouse's child	'sibling' grandchild; stepchild
AntlamuksIs, AnklamuksIs	FaBr, MoBr, FaSiHu, MoSiHu	uncle
AnsugwIs	FaSi, MoSi, FaBrWi, MoBrWi	aunt
nogumau	FaSiSo, FaBrSo, etc. MoSiSo, MoBrSo, etc.	cousin

Ansumcie (nuluks, nujic, nogumau)	BrSo, SiSo	nephew
AncIgwun (ninmus?, nujic, nogumau)	BrDa, SiDa	niece
AnjinAmum	Hu ('my man')	husband
AntebidEm	Wi ('my woman')	wife
Ancugwi:jic	HuMo, WiMo	mother-in-law
AncIlc	HuFa, WiFa	father-in-law
nAmaktEm	HuBr, WiBr	brother-in-law
nInmus, nAmaktEm?	HuSi, WiSi	sister-in-law
Antlozuk	DaHu	son-in-law
AntlozuEskAm	SoWi	daughter-in-law
AnkAnlgAn	—	god-child
AnkEkusk	—	god-parent
AnmakupelEm	— ('partner')	term used reciprocally by parent and god-parent of a child

Several 'descriptive' terms are also used; thus *bidu nilmickamIc* 'under my grandfather,' indicates the great-grandfathers, and *bidu nogomic* the great-grandmothers. Paternal uncles may be distinguished by a compound: *nuc wIjigodedIdl*, 'my father's brothers.' Extensions include the use of *nogomi*, 'grandmother,' as a respectful term for any elderly woman, while *nugumi-jinEn*, 'our grandmother,' is used in prayers and hymns to indicate Ste. Anne.

Kinship terms are little used in address outside of the nuclear family, first names being preferred where the age differential is not great. This may help to account for the confusion of many younger informants regarding the niece-nephew terms. Of the four terms recorded for 'nephew,' *nujic* is the usual term for 'grandchild,' and *nogumau* is commonly used for 'cousin' or, in its literal sense, 'my relative'; *nuluks* corresponds to the term for 'nephew' in S. T. Rand's Micmac Dictionary ('nulooks'), but *Ansumcie* appears to be the same as Rand's term for 'niece' plus the diminutive suffix (-jic). Of the niece terms, *AncIgwun* is a bilingual pun with the usual meaning of 'my knee,' and, according to two informants, it is a fairly recent usage (though they knew no other term for 'niece'); however, I understand that names for body parts are often used to designate kinship relations among the Nova Scotia Micmac, and this may be another instance (Don DeBlois, pers. comm.). Finally, *ninmus* was given for 'niece' by one informant who failed to give it for its usual equivalent, i.e., 'sister-in-law.'

According to Hoffman (1955a:682 ff.), *ninmus* (or *nilmus*) formerly indicated 'connection by marriage of opposite sex and generation [*sic*] while *nAmaktEm* indicated 'connection by marriage of same sex and generation.' This distinction is no longer observed by the Restigouche Micmac, though one informant (a woman) did give *nAmaktEm* for 'sister-in-law.' In view of the possibility of the former existence of the levirate among the Micmac, it is interesting to note that the term *ninmus* is *morphologically different* from any of the other kinship terms in that it takes the subject form of the

personal pronominal prefix (*nin-mus*, *gil-mus*, 'my, your sister-in-law') rather than the possessive form (e.g., *nA-mIs*, *kA-mIs*, 'my, your elder sister').¹

Outside of the nuclear family, kinship is of relatively slight importance to the social organization of the Reserve. Descent and inheritance are regulated by the Indian Act, which meshes fairly well with the general patrilineal tendency of the society. Residence is predominantly neolocal, though the newly married couple may live with either set of parents until a separate house can be rented or until a welfare house is built for them. In some cases, land for the new house may be given by (or purchased from) one of the parents or a sibling, resulting in a grouping together of closely related families; such groups are not the norm, but when they do occur a modified type of extended family living may develop.

Economic co-operation is generally based upon complementary skills and temperaments; where these factors coincide with a close kinship bond they may reinforce one another, but there is no particular expectation that relatives should work together, and it is recognized that there are advantages in working with a non-relative.

Kinship solidarity becomes attenuated as the relationship is more distant, but within the ranks of (remembered) bilateral kindred there is some sense of mutual responsibility. Thus, one informant told of an unusual legal action taken by himself and his brother against the husband of a distant relative on her behalf, commenting that "After all . . . she is our cousin." Elder siblings are made responsible for their younger brothers and sisters at an early age, and a feeling of responsibility and reciprocal respect may continue later in life, particularly after the death of the parents. Relations with affines vary widely, but the general impression is one of frequent co-operation between brothers- and sisters-in-law.

Marriage is primarily endogamous. Information on 235 marriages of Band members was derived from Agency records and interviews and is summarized in Table 9.

More than 60 per cent of the marriages are between Band members. Of the thirty-two marriages with members of other Micmac bands, there are seven members each from Maria, Eel Ground, and Red Bank reserves, and a scattering from Eel River, Burnt Church, Big Cove, and Pictou. In these cases of inter-band marriage, the number of couples who establish residence on the husbands' or wives' home reserves and those who live at neither reserve are roughly equal. Three men have brought wives from another Indian tribe (Caughnawaga Mohawk) to live at Restigouche, and about seven men have lived on the Reserve with non-Indian wives. Most of the men who have married non-Indians and all the women who have done so (and thus

¹ Since this chapter was completed, Hockett's (1964) reconstruction of the Proto Central Algonkin (PCA) kinship terminology has become available for comparison with the Micmac terminology. Hockett's reconstruction is based on the following languages: Cree, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menomini, Fox, and Shawnee. The similarity of PCA to Micmac is readily apparent; the terms for the following kin types show clear correspondences: gf, gm, fa, mo, fa si, mo-in-law, fa-in-law, el si, yo si, son. Most interesting is Hockett's conclusion that the PCA terminology indicates the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Micmac has lost the bifurcate terminology found in PCA for aunts and uncles, but the generalized 'aunt' term, *AnsugwIs*, clearly corresponds to PCA */nsekwihsa/, 'fa si,' and in both languages the 'mo-in-law' terms are diminutive forms of these: *Ancugwi:jic*, and PCA */nsekwihehsa/. (A probable phonemic transcription of the Micmac terms would be /nsukwis/ and /nsukwijic/ where the initial /n-/ is the possessive prefix and /-jic/ is a diminutive allomorph.)

lost their Indian status) live away from the Reserve. These inter-marriages are not always successful; at least ten of the forty-two cases investigated have involved separations. Separation is fairly common even among the Indian-Indian marriages, but since virtually all these are Roman Catholic marriages, divorce is as yet unknown.

Table 9—ETHNIC ORIGINS OF MARRIED COUPLES¹

<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Restigouche	Restigouche	151	64
Restigouche	Other Micmac Band	25	11
Other Micmac Band	Restigouche	7	3
Restigouche	Other Tribes	8	3
Other Tribes	Restigouche	2	1
Restigouche	Non-Indian	16	7
Non-Indian	Restigouche	26	11
TOTAL		235	100

Choice of mate is by personal preference or impregnation: analysis of Indian marriages over a five-year period indicated that the majority involved a pregnant bride. The ideal of romantic love is certainly present, at least among the younger generation, but most male informants emphasized kindness, not drinking too much, and not interfering with the husband's activities as the most desirable qualities in a wife.

According to Ruth S. Wallis, "In a dozen autobiographical accounts of marriages which took place between 1890 and 1912, only two women named or implied mutual choice as a factor. Father, mother, or grandmother chose the husband or accepted the suitor for the girl, usually very young, who scarcely knew the man until the wedding day" (Wallis and Wallis, 1955:236). Both this practice and that of child-marriage have died out in the last fifty years. But one frank account, given by a Restigouche matron, is worth reporting here for the light it throws on these practices and on wedding customs:

I was living with my father in a house up near the Champoux Mill. He was paralyzed on one side and couldn't work, so I had to do all the cooking. That was 1919 and I was fifteen years old. One day I looked out the window and saw W— coming back from guiding. [He was twenty-nine.] I told my father, and he went to the door and waved to W— to come in; he said 'I'm going to the store, but I'll come back and talk to you.' When he came back, he went out back with my father and elder sister. He used to date my sister, but we had never gone out together.

After a while they called me out back and he asked me to marry him. My sister was nodding her head, so I said, 'All right.' My father had told him, 'It's all right if she agrees.' So W— said, 'Let's go right to the priest and arrange for the "calls," because if you'd of said "no," I was going to leave here and not come back.'

We went to see Father P—, and he told W—, 'You're robbing the cradle.' My other married sister told my father not to let me marry W— because he had a bad reputation for drinking and fighting, but he said to her, 'I won't live long . . . can you take care of your little sister? If she has a child, you'll

¹In seven cases the wife's origin could not be determined, and these have not been included in the figure. A few cases assigned to the top row may actually belong in the second row, but the proportions are fairly accurate.

throw her out. Let her marry him . . . at least he has a house.' He told W—. 'Don't leave your young wife for long.'

That same day we went to town to buy new clothes and a ring. I had always worn my hair long, braided with barettes. For the wedding, my sister helped me put it up in a bun. I had a royal blue satin wedding gown and high laced boots with high heels. My bridesmaid was A— [a friend]. We went in a taxi to the church. Outside the church were the men with crossed guns; they shot them off as we passed underneath. No one came to the wedding breakfast; later on we found out that one of the men had accidentally shot his brother in the leg; that was the last time they used guns at a wedding.

In the afternoon and evening there was a dance at my sister's house. Everybody had lots of fun, drinking and fighting. There was a supper, but the old woman who cooked stole most of the food. I had never danced before in my life. My cousin persuaded me to dance, but after the first set I danced with him, W— took me by the arm and said, 'Come on. We're going home.'

I had no opportunity to observe a wedding during the period of field-work, but from descriptions given by various informants it appears that the ceremony is a traditional Roman Catholic Nuptial Mass followed by a family meal and, if money permits, a party and dance in the evening. Everyone is welcome at the wedding celebration, though some families have begun to send invitations. Money for the musicians and for the food and liquor may be provided by the groom or by the parents of the couple. Relatives from nearby reserves may attend if it promises to be a good celebration.

Family life at Restigouche is quite similar to that in surrounding rural communities (except in the economic sphere, as noted above). Children are greatly desired and are reared in a permissive and usually loving atmosphere. Table 10 shows the number of children born to 135 of the present householders at Restigouche; many deceased children are included in the table, but the numbers would be much higher if all infant mortalities had been reported and recorded.

All but one of the childless couples have adopted one or more children, and many of the other couples have done so both before and after the wife has passed child-bearing age. (Some of the largest families are the result of a second marriage.)

Table 10—NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD

<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Number of Households</i>
0	7
1	11
2	18
3	14
4	15
5	10
6-10	47
11-15	13

The average number of children for the group in Table 10 is 5.25 per family. A sample of ninety completed families (where the wife had been born before 1920) yielded an average fecundity rate of 5.8; but this figure would doubtless have been much higher (perhaps as high as 7.0) if all the

children ever born to these older women had been recorded; however, the Agency records from which this sample was drawn show very few of the infant mortalities prior to 1945. One middle-aged informant, when asked if he came from a large family, replied: "No — my mother died soon after I was born; there were only five of us." Several other informants subsequently classified five children as 'a small family.'

Within the household, relations between spouses follow a Roman Catholic lower-class pattern: the husband maintains his 'freedom,' and the wife is expected to be childbearing, long-suffering, and hard-working. Brutality, especially under the influence of alcohol, is not uncommon; but the younger women are less likely to 'take it' without protest. There are many variants on this pattern, however, ranging from the classic case of the hen-pecked husband to instances of true co-operative endeavour within the nuclear family.

In many families, the pattern is one in which the husband is away for long periods of time, in the United States or in other parts of Canada, working and perhaps sending money home. Early in a marriage the wife and one or two children may travel with the husband; but as the family grows larger and the children reach school age, there is a tendency for them to return to the Reserve where they can get a tax-free, rent-free house, medical services, and emergency relief while the husband alternates between 'working out' and brief periods at home.

My observations of child-training practices were too unsystematic to allow any generalizations on this topic, but a few basic facts can be noted. Within the last forty years there has been a change, with very few exceptions, from home to hospital childbirth, and from breast to bottle feeding (with canned evaporated milk as the basis of the formula). The baby carriage is widely used as the infant's sleeping place, usually until the child is displaced by a younger sibling, or until an elder sibling abandons his crib for a bed. Diapers are universally used. Both weaning and toilet training are fairly gradual but are expected to be completed by the end of the second year. Most infants receive a good deal of stimulation from adults and other children. Misbehaviour is usually ignored or laughed at; an aroused parent may threaten physical punishment, but it would be quite unusual for such a threat to be carried out. One young woman who was married to a non-Indian in Massachusetts said that she couldn't discipline her children when on a visit to the Reserve because her father would interfere.

As the children grow older they are expected to take on certain tasks: girls of 7 or 8 years mind the babies and help with light housework; boys bring in wood and run errands; members of both sexes may go to the potato harvest. Later, the children may take paying jobs: two young boys from Bible Group families have paper routes; teen-aged boys may comb the shore for pulp logs or help in the woods, while the girls baby-sit for neighbours, tend store, or work as part-time domestics in Campbellton. Today it is expected that they will attend school until they are sixteen, but even in the last generation there were families such as the B—'s, whose five boys went to work in the woods with their father at an early age and never set foot inside the school.

Most grown children leave the home to marry or to 'work out.' The child-rearing period is prolonged for many older people by the practice of

adoption of an unmarried daughter's illegitimate child. I have treated the phenomenon of illegitimacy elsewhere (Bock, 1964*a*), and so shall remark here only that the illegitimacy rate on the Reserve has been about 20 per cent for more than a century and that there is scarcely a family without some such cases (cf. Table 4).

Eventually the young people depart, and the parents are left alone. There seems to be a tendency (perhaps this is a rural trait?) for such elderly Indian couples (or widowed individuals) to maintain their own households quite independently of their children, though a handicapped widow, or a person separated from his spouse and without a home, may live with married children. (Each person on reaching his 65th birthday is eligible for an old age pension which, while not munificent, is sufficient on the Reserve for all normal needs. If such persons have any savings, they may be considered 'rich' and expected to pay board to the children they live with.)

Thus the developmental cycle of the domestic group is similar to that found in many non-Indian communities. Life crises are handled within the framework of the Roman Catholic Church and the bilateral kindred. Baptisms are usually attended only by the immediate family. Godparents may be chosen on this occasion and again for Confirmation, but there is no special pattern to the choice, and reciprocal duties of godparent and godchild are negligible. The godparents pay for the baptism, give occasional gifts on birthdays, and would probably take responsibility for the child were he to be orphaned — though most informants felt that this would happen only in the absence of close 'real' kin. The wedding ceremony has already been described, and the ceremonies surrounding death and burial will be dealt with in Chapter Twelve.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Eating, Drinking, and Playing

One of the empirical generalizations best established from acculturation studies is that food preferences are clung to tenaciously by a subordinate group, and that often a reciprocal influence is established between the two groups. In the early days of European contact, the Micmac eagerly adopted the use of the iron kettle but resisted the use of dried codfish and bread and other flour products, whereas the French learned of many new sources of food and modes of preparation from the Micmac.

At Restigouche many of the aboriginal food practices persisted into the nineteenth century, but gradually they have been replaced by those found throughout Canada. Today bread and potatoes are the staple foods, and though the fish, game, and wild plant products noted in the section on ecology are widely desired, it is mainly for the variety which they add to an otherwise drab and repetitious diet.

All the older women and many of the younger ones bake their own bread, both as a matter of preference (found throughout the local rural area) and economy: during the Depression the major form of food relief was the distribution of barrels of flour. An 'Indian bread' known as *lu:skAnIgAn* is also made by some women, and occasionally by men working in the woods; this is a baking-powder biscuit cooked in a pan, on top of a stove or over a fire; it is just as aboriginal as the tea or molasses found on virtually every table. Only a few older informants had heard of the eighteenth-century technique of cooking bread in the sand, and the method was described only at Red Bank Reserve.

The deer or moose occasionally shot in the fall is 'brought down' by the hunter and his companions — most of the modern-day women would be shocked at the suggestion that they should 'fetch' it. Meat from these animals is usually prepared by roasting; some young men recalled their parents' liking for smoked game, but none shared this preference.

Beaver and porcupine are known to have been 'good eating,' but few people have any idea of how they were prepared. Of the smaller types of game, ducks and Canadian geese are taken with (illegal) light and shot-gun; partridge are shot with small-bore rifles; and rabbits are snared (or bought from travelling vendors) — rabbit pie is a traditional holiday dish. Poaching salmon in the Restigouche River with a net is a favourite (and profitable) pastime on dark spring nights; trout may be taken on several rivers or streams; and a few men occasionally take a boat across the Restigouche in late summer to spear eels at a spot where they are plentiful.

In the absence (in all but a few Indian houses) of refrigeration, canned goods — particularly canned beans, meats, and evaporated milk — and non-perishables such as tea, molasses, beans, potatoes, and oatmeal form the

core of the diet. Some women put up preserves of various kinds, and others may follow practices learned at school or at meetings of the Homemakers Club. Chicken is reserved for a holiday, though the more prosperous families may have this and store-bought meats and vegetables rather frequently. The local stores give credit, but with the completion of the bridge to Campbellton more and more people are crossing over to take advantage of the lower prices and wider selection.

Aside from wedding celebrations and occasional parties, all meals are eaten within the individual household. Most families, and certainly those with school-aged children, have adopted a three-meal pattern, with the main meal in the middle of the day; however, these are invariably supplemented with one or more lunches, perhaps a light snack during the day or a complete meal late at night. A passion for soft drinks is found throughout the local area, and to 'take a lunch' usually means to stop in at a store or a canteen for a bottle of 'pop,' and perhaps a small bag of potato chips.

As noted in Part I, the Micmac at first refused all use of alcoholic drinks but later became ardent customers of (and occasional middlemen in) the brandy trade. Their liking for liquor has not diminished over the years, and in 1961 drunkenness was extremely common at Restigouche despite the high cost of liquor, the preaching of the priests, and the prohibition imposed by the Indian Act. Most of the adult men and a sizeable minority of the women would probably be classified as moderate to heavy drinkers, and a few of the men are probably genuine alcoholics.

The 'quest for drunkenness' is the major concern of many of the unemployed men, and it involves the three sub-problems of getting money, finding transportation, and buying the liquor, none of which seem to be insuperable. Though a few of the Indian women who resemble whites are able to purchase liquor openly, most of the men are known and will be refused by the licensed local dealers. Bootleggers, both Indian and non-Indian, manage to supply the normal demand.¹

Four categories of beverages are recognized: beer, wine, 'hard stuff,' and *bEstis*, or 'home brew.' These may be consumed singly or in any combination. Wine is the usual drink of the (near-) alcoholic, but most men begin a day's drinking with a quantity of beer. 'Hard stuff' (usually cheap rye or vodka, sometimes rum) is expensive and, when a crew is drinking together, will usually be supplemented with beer. The *bEstis* (from 'Best Yeast,' one of the ingredients) is brewed on occasion from a mix including molasses and raisins and may be sold in the brewer's home by the glass. Drinking patterns range from solitary alcoholism, through one- or two-man 'sprees,' to the usual group drinking, when three or more friends get together, each contributing what he can toward the purchase, or perhaps supplying transportation in exchange for a share.

Once a man (or a woman) starts to drink, he will usually try to continue until a state of advanced drunkenness is attained. The drinker usually expects to feel *ickajic gEsInAgwan*, 'a little bit sick,' the next day, and would feel cheated if he ran out of liquor or had to stop drinking for some reason while he was still sober. My first-hand observations of drinking

¹Since this was written, the regulations governing Indian drinking have been changed. In Quebec, Indians may now purchase spirits at any government store.

behaviour were limited, but it seemed that the range of responses to alcohol were similar to those observed in non-Indian communities. The Reserve nurse and a local magistrate, however, both indicated that interpersonal aggression was a frequent result of drinking among the Indians. The Indian constable would give no estimate of the amount of drunkenness or violence, but he said that his main job was breaking up fights and taking drunks home; when he first took the job, the Band Council instructed him to be 'strict,' but after he had made a few arrests they complained that he was overdoing it. Now he mainly provides a free taxi service, trying to keep drinkers out of trouble and 'off the road.'

The Bible Group takes a puritanical attitude towards drinking, and its members generally adhere to the policy of abstinence. The Church, on the other hand, does not view drinking itself as a sin, but preaches against the various abuses which result from drinking. Father H—, the new parish priest, has started a crusade against drinking, beginning with the organization of a semi-official chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous. Many of the young people have seen enough of drunkenness, and (directly or indirectly) suffered enough from it to make them vigorously resist drinking, and it would seem that a preventive program might be much more successful than one aimed at the addicts, who constitute a relatively small proportion of the heavy drinkers.

Drinking serves a variety of social and personal functions at Restigouche. Not the least among these is hospitality: to 'set someone drunk' (with purchased liquor or *bEstis*) is an act of friendship, and to decline such an offer would be an insult. The state of drunkenness is valued in itself, and a person who can 'hold his liquor' without getting noisy and making a nuisance of himself is respected. Group drinking is the major type of informal recreation; a man returning to the Reserve after a period of working in the United States would be sure to bring a bottle of whiskey and a carton of American cigarettes for a 'celebration.' Many women recognize their husbands' right to an occasional spree.

For the individual Indian, drinking serves the same needs as for the non-Indian, though societal conditions aggravate the feelings of powerlessness, frustration, and lack of identity or self-respect. There is also a 'game' aspect of drinking behaviour: prohibition and white interference present a challenge to the Indians' ingenuity, and various methods of acquiring, concealing, and consuming liquor have been devised and are told of with evident satisfaction.

The secondary effects of this excessive drinking are also significant. Enough of the families live on a bare subsistence level that any money used by adults for liquor means inadequate food and insufficient clothing for the children; where both parents drink, the situation for the children can become quite serious. The physical effects on the drinkers are also debilitating and may lead, directly or indirectly, to loss of jobs and to illness. Finally, partly as a result of excessive drinking, a negative stereotype of the Indian has developed in the local area which probably increases social and occupational discrimination, leading to increased frustration and, in turn, to more drinking.

As noted above, hunting and fishing have become recreations rather than serious economic pursuits. Several families have 'camps' back on the wooded portion of the Reserve, where they may spend weekends or more extended

periods during the warm months. The young people swim in the river or lakes and wander through the woods. In the winter there is skating on the river as well as various games in the snow.

The only popular organized sports are baseball and hockey. At one time there were two baseball teams on the Reserve, one from 'up the mission' and the other from 'down.' Rivalry was intense, and some of the players developed considerable skill. In recent years there has been one main team (though an intra-Reserve game can sometimes be arranged), and an amateur league has been established, including several teams from neighbouring communities, to play a two- to three-month 'season.' During the summer of 1961, the Restigouche Black Sox played regular games with teams from Atholville (near Campbellton), Beresford, and Petit Rocher (both near Bathurst, N.B.). Occasional 'exhibition' games were played with teams from Big Cove Reserve and from Nouvelle and Mont Joli, P.Q. Money for equipment and transportation comes from the Indian Affairs Branch and from collections taken up at the games, though in 1961 the Band Council also voted \$50 to help the team.

The Restigouche baseball team is interesting from two points of view: first, as the only organized activity on the Reserve which is independent of non-Indian institutions; and second, as the sole mode of organized contact on a basis of equality between the Indians and their neighbours.

Many minority groups in America have found in sports a channel for social mobility and a means of breaking down negative stereotypes. This is consciously realized by the manager-organizer of the Restigouche team, who spoke several times of his desire to keep the team going so that the young men would stay out of trouble and possibly have a chance to become professionals: "You don't have to be a big shot to get into sports — just regular . . . people have a chance — like in boxing and football." He also sees sports as an important integrative force:

The last few years I've had a couple of French boys playing on the baseball team . . . they went everywhere with us, and I guess a lot of people thought they were Indians . . . got along real well. A lot of the French people around here are stuck up . . . they don't want their kids to play with the Indian kids or go to school with them. But now they're beginning to see that we have as good a standard of living as many of them do. It's not us but them that are holding up the integration.

The Black Sox had a rather poor season in 1961, winning only two of the league games; even so, it was surprising that more people did not attend the home games, since there were few other sources of free amusement. Insufficient practice was the major cause of their losses, but other factors also entered in: the pattern of avoidance-of-conflict made it impossible for strong leadership to be exercised; the morale of the team was never very high, and the players became easily discouraged; heavy drinking on weekends decreased some players' efficiency; and a number of good players were not fully utilized because of the manager's penchant for using his relatives in the field. On one occasion the entire team was composed of his brothers, cousins, and nephews, as shown in Figure 4.

Other amusements include bingo or movies at the church, cards (poker and cribbage), and checkers. Dancing is very popular, but no dances have

been held on the Reserve for several years because of the opposition of the priest. Some of the teenagers attend 'record hops' in Campbellton, but the older people prefer reels and quadrilles. Television viewing has replaced radio listening as the favourite pastime, and a new English phrase has been incorporated into Micmac: *letsō* (late show). The pool halls are frequent gathering places for the young men, and during the winter months they are crowded with the unemployed.

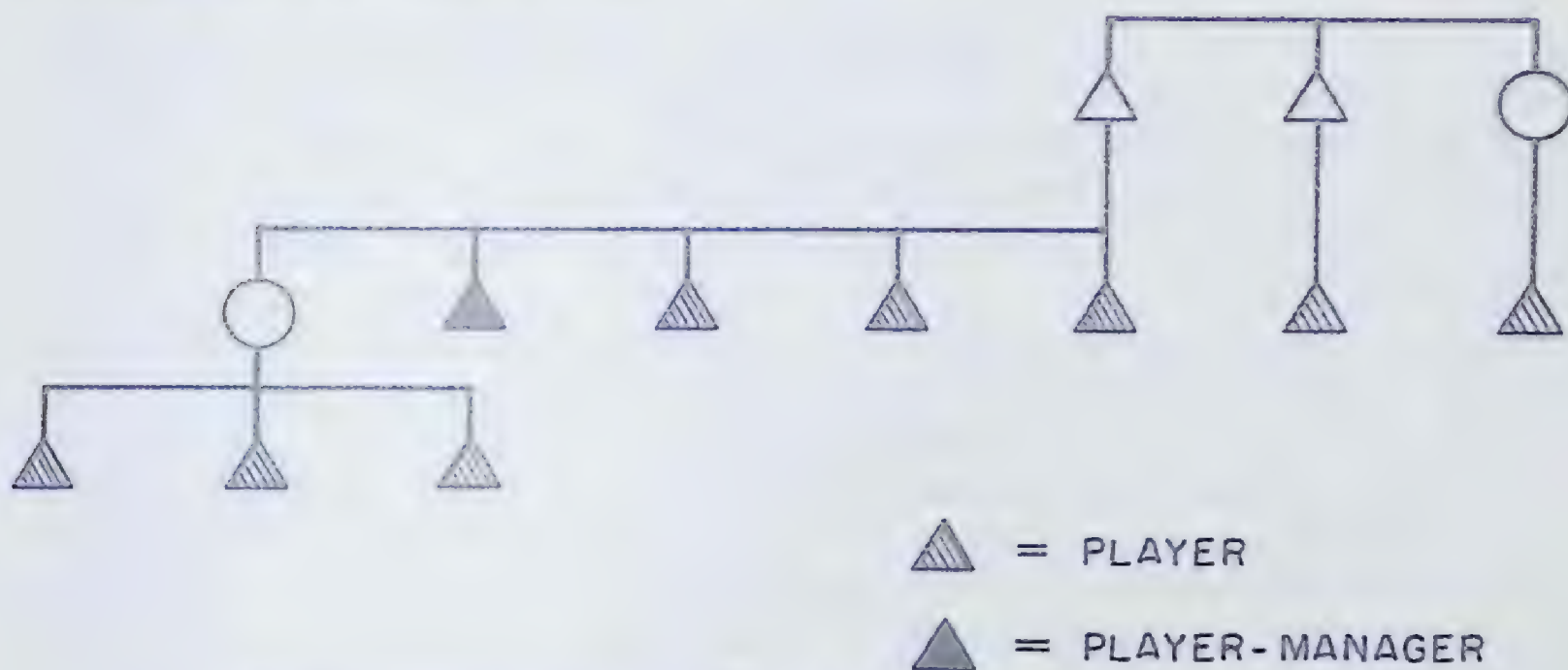


FIGURE 4—Composition of the baseball team on one occasion

But by far the most valued type of amusement is travelling: to go somewhere — anywhere — 'for a trip,' is the delight of people of all ages. The usual destinations (outside of brief trips to points within the local area) are other Micmac reserves or, on special occasions, Montreal or Toronto (where the travellers seek out the Indian community). When visiting other reserves the people can usually count on the hospitality of relatives or old friends to provide food, a bed, and something to drink. The young men anticipate, and sometimes find, sexual opportunities; the women look forward to gossip and perhaps the excitement of a dance. Because of the lack of cars and the high cost of transportation such trips are relatively infrequent, but always memorable.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Language, Folklore, and Music

In view of the fact that a skilled linguist from the National Museum of Canada, Mr. Don DeBlois, was investigating the Micmac language during (and after) my time in the field, and since my time was limited, it seemed superfluous to attempt much work with the language. Therefore, I shall confine my remarks to a few general statements about the linguistic situation at Restigouche.

Virtually the entire population of Restigouche is bilingual, Micmac and English. With the exception of three neighbouring and related 'progressive' families, Micmac is the language of the home and is the tongue first learned by the children. Intensive instruction in English is given in the school kindergarten beginning at about the age of 5; but since the advent of television on the Reserve, many children have begun to pick up the rudiments of English before attending school, and their progress with the language seems to be greatly accelerated. About ten of the adult men can 'get along' in French, but only two of them (and several older women from French or mixed French-Indian homes who married into the Band) are really fluent in that language.

All the people born since the turn of the century are fairly comfortable speaking in English, though only members of the younger generations can write it with any proficiency. Micmac is the preferred language for conversation, though it is interlaced with English words and phrases, particularly for numbers, time periods, and place names. Most Restigouche people will say that their language is 'half broke,' and that the 'real Micmac' is spoken in Nova Scotia. Interestingly enough, the Micmac in Nova Scotia identify the Restigouche dialect as more authentic (Don DeBlois, pers. comm.).

English was usually spoken in my presence out of courtesy, and occasional asides in Micmac were cause for apology: "Excuse me if I use my own language for a minute. . . ." But the Indian language was also a useful device for what Erving Goffman (1960) calls 'communication out of character,' and it was used to good advantage at baseball games, during Band Council meetings, and in multi-ethnic situations of other kinds. Older people sometimes feigned ignorance of English when they did not wish to be interviewed, though when better rapport was established they were often found to be quite fluent; some constantly apologized for their imagined lack of eloquence.

Most important is the fact that the people of Restigouche *like* their language: they like to speak it, to discuss it, and to teach it to anyone who shows an interest. They are somewhat defensive about its use, having been told by the school teachers that it is holding their children back, and by the priest that it is 'really a combination of French and Norwegian' (from the Vikings!); but I feel that it will be a long time before they abandon it. The

old tradition of oratory is dead, but a good story-teller is still appreciated, and puns, jokes, or even a long archaic word in Micmac are much enjoyed (cf. Hymes, 1962).

Many of the older people can read and write in Micmac (using Father Pacifique's script and alphabet). This is usually restricted to sacred affairs, but one man now in his fifties told of writing letters home in Micmac when he was away from the Reserve as a young man, working and in the army. (Until 1920 all instruction given in the Indian school was in Micmac: catechism, reading and writing, singing, praying.)

As the Wallises noted (1953), there has been an almost complete 'culture loss' in the area of folklore. Though more careful investigation might have turned up a few more fragments, it is clear that only a few old legends, songs, or folk beliefs are widely known among the younger generation, and these have undergone extensive mixing and 'leveling.' The existence of a weekly television program, 'The Adventures of Glooskap,' originating in Halifax, N.S., will soon complicate this type of study; but several people in their thirties admitted that they had never heard of the Micmac culture hero until they saw the program (or looked through the Wallises' book).

A few traditional tales can still be heard from the older people, and nearly everyone can give a version of the story of the Campbellton Fire, an anecdote about some *ginap* (giant), or a tale of mysterious events involving water witching, ghosts, or tricks played by mischievous spirits (perhaps the *bugaladamuc*, now generally confused with Walt Disney's seven dwarfs) (See Appendix).

Witchcraft was treated as fantasy by most of my informants, though one old lady confided that a former Indian Agent had been killed by a 'bad wish' when he refused relief to a woman from another reserve who was visiting Restigouche. One man told of his 'secret,' which for twenty years had enabled him to travel quickly over great distances. Another man gave a good account of various Indian medicines and their uses but claimed that the women who had once gathered and prepared these medicines were now all dead. (He said, however, that his wife's mother — the one who had told of the lethal 'bad wish' — could prepare a wonderful mustard plaster.)

Old-time music, which includes the European reels and quadrilles, is played at picnics and wedding dances, or occasionally for an evening's entertainment at home. The young people favour 'Rock and Roll' or Country and Western style popular tunes. One young Indian man has composed a song in the latter style with Micmac words.

There are a few old Indian songs still known, but I succeeded in recording only a fragment of one dealing with the dwarfs. The next goes: "*bugaladamuc*, back-on-the-mountain, I-hear-them-singing." The mountain referred to is now known as Mont St-Joseph, near Carleton, P.Q., and the eroded patches on its southern face are explained as places "where the dwarfs slide down." Another song, possibly authentic, deals with the sadness of a Nova Scotia woman whose husband, a chief, was taken to England and died while there.

For most of the people, however, Indian music means the Gregorian chants to which Abbé Maillard, Father Pacifique, and others set Micmac words. These chants are used in the High Mass, during Holy Week, and at Indian

wakes. The words of the liturgy are hand-copied in small notebooks owned by the singers, but the music has been transmitted orally and, as Adrien says, "Il faut beaucoup d'attention pour reconnaître dans leur chant les mélodies de Saint Grégoire . . ." (1945:81). The Micmac choir sings every Sunday, and for the more important festivals there is a special liturgy. Special hymns are used at a wake; I shall close this section with a description of that institution.

Soon after a Band member dies, his body is embalmed and sent, with certain funeral equipment, to the home of either his immediate family or a close relative. The funeral will be held two, three, or four days afterwards, depending on the distance relatives must travel to attend; in any case, it may not be held on a Sunday or on certain other Church holidays. Each night that the body remains in the house, a wake is held. The procedure is as follows:

Soon after dark, the mourners arrive at the house. The priest, or some other person versed in the appropriate prayers, leads the assembled group in saying the rosary (often in Micmac). The body of the deceased is displayed in a coffin resting on a moving stand with a velvet backdrop, candles, and an illuminated crucifix provided by the undertaker. Some mourners approach the coffin, make the sign of the cross over the body, and kneel for a moment's silent prayer; in poorer homes some put a few coins in a dish.

When several men who know the hymns have arrived, they gather near the coffin or in an adjoining room and begin to chant in unison the prayers for the dead. The chanting sometimes continues until dawn but usually ends around 4 A.M. The chanting of prayer takes six or seven minutes, and the singers may chant four or five prayers before stopping for a rest. Around midnight a light meal is usually served — sandwiches with tea or coffee — and afterward the chanting begins again. The mournful melodies and the flickering candles at first induce a sombre mood; but as the night wears on the non-singing mourners begin to talk and joke among themselves. New singers may arrive to give the others a rest, and some people may go outside to talk or to have a beer; but heavy drinking would definitely be out of place at a Micmac wake.

If the deceased were a child, the ceremonies would be abridged, but for an adult the wake is held each night until the funeral. On the day of the funeral, pallbearers come to the house and accompany the body to the church. Special hymns accompany the Requiem Mass and the procession to the grave. Informants were not in agreement on the manifest function of these hymns, but to this observer it appeared that their latent function was an affirmation of identity (cf. Bock, 1956 and 1964*b*).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN — CONCLUSIONS

What it means to be a Micmac

A Micmac Indian is one of more than 6,000 persons sharing a distinctive language and a few historical traditions, but little else. A Micmac Indian of the Restigouche Band is one of a subgroup of 1,100 who, in addition, share certain legal and sentimental ties to a geographical area. Despite some recent trends, 'pan-Indianism' has been slow in developing among the Micmac, and from the point of view of *group identity* it seems safest to assume no identification higher than that of the 'tribe,' though this unit lacks (and has probably always lacked) any unifying political structure.

Micmac culture has become an ethnic variant of the dominant Canadian culture; but the Micmac Indians are not 'equal,' legally or socially, to other Canadian ethnic groups. Because of their small numbers and of various historical factors (including, at Restigouche, the lack of a definitive treaty) the Micmac are relatively powerless in relation to the dominant society.

The Canadian Government plays the part of an intensely ambivalent 'guardian,' and it must be questioned whether 'benefits' granted because of a sense of guilt can compensate for decades of general neglect and outright hostility. As Baldwin (1961:115) has written, in a different context, "Men do not like to be protected, it emasculates them . . . this is what white men do not want to know. It is not a pretty thing to be a father and be ultimately dependent on the power and kindness of some other man for the well-being of your house."

The Church, too, has an ambiguous relationship to the Indians: after 300 years of virtually continuous missionary efforts, mutual suspicion and distrust seem to be fundamental to the attitudes of the priest and his Indian flock. At Restigouche, this situation is continuously aggravated by disagreements — explicit or implicit — over the status of the church lands (for the Indians' attachment to their territory must not be underestimated). Indeed, the history of this relationship is such that one may suspect the existence of some subtle pattern of Micmac culture which is incompatible with Roman Catholicism (cf. Chapter Eight).

The total situation at Restigouche does not seem to be conducive to any sort of *revitalism*, largely because of the 'culture loss' which has affected all Micmac groups (Wallis and Wallis, 1953). Still, it is interesting to note the nativistic overtones in the concern of members of the Bible Group for 'our Indian rights,' and in their leader's alleged authorship of a 'history of the Micmac on birchbark.'

There is some idealization of the past, apparent in some of the legends (see Appendix), and in one older man's statement that "the Old People were bigger, healthier, and happier." But the young people have no conception of a Golden Age. (A psychologist might relate this to the sudden change in

child-feeding habits in the thirties.) The conditions of life have changed so drastically at Restigouche during the last sixty years that almost all sense of cultural continuity has been lost. I showed the Wallises' historical ethnography of the Micmac to several informants: the young men charged that it was 'all made up'; the one woman who glanced through the book accepted the descriptions as true, but commented, "It's like reading about another world."

It is difficult to say whether being a Micmac means much in terms of *personal identity*. The former parish priest, with his theories of Viking ancestry and ideas about Indian 'costumes' and 'war dances,' may have stirred some sense of pride, as he claimed, though I suspect quite the opposite. The Micmac language and, to a lesser degree, the wake ceremony are foci of group cohesion, while the warm and permissive atmosphere found in most homes must be an important early influence on personality.

For many individuals, the central problem is one of identity. Of all the questions asked during my time on the Reserve, the one most often repeated—sometimes defensively, sometimes pleadingly—was: "*Can you tell me where the Indians came from?*" Though it must occasionally have represented a request for historical enlightenment, in nearly every case I sensed the latent content: "*Can you tell me who I am?*" I suspect that it is the inability to answer this question which accounts, in part, for the patterns of compulsive drinking described above and for the restlessness which affects so many of the younger people.

I answered the historical question with some mumbled phrases about land bridges and Bering Strait, but for the latent question I had no answer. It is easy to conclude that total assimilation is the only solution to the problem of loss of identity. This is the answer of the Indian Affairs Branch. But there are some qualities of Micmac life—kindness, hospitality, and a special dignity—which would be regretted if they faded into the attenuated patterns of the dominant society.

Miriam Chapin (1955:5) has written that "Canada is a nation which has been forced to put up with diversity, indeed, forced to cherish it. Whether it can become a great and stable nation depends on how it can reconcile that diversity with justice to all." She quotes a 1956 statement of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Canadian Bar Association, that "the Canadian Indian enjoys few of the individual liberties that have been preserved and protected in our courts of law" (Chapin, 1959: 324, fn.3). Clearly, much remains to be done to reconcile the minimal ethnic diversity of the Micmac with contemporary standards of justice; one hopes that justice—rather than mere 'equality'—will prevail.

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APPENDIX:

Local Folklore

I. ORIGIN OF THE NAME 'RESTIGOUCHE'

The meaning of the name of the Reserve and of the river is of considerable interest to the inhabitants of the area. Unfortunately, legends based on a false etymology seem to have obscured a fairly simple problem.

On my second night in the area, I was approached by a young, educated, but slightly inebriated Indian man, who wanted to be certain that I would not be 'misled' by incorrect interpretations of the name. (Speck (1922:95) offers the meaning, 'a dead tree.')

Some people might tell me that it signified a 'river that spreads like the hand' or some other such meaning; but, as he related it:

"uc means 'father'; nuc would mean 'my father' and guc 'your father'; now *lEsti* is like we would say 'you disobey'; so *lEstiguc* just means 'you disobey your father,' and all these other things you hear just aren't true."

The commonest legend of origin, which I recorded in several variant forms, revolves around a raid of reprisal carried on by the Micmac under a powerful warrior (sometimes identified as Tonel) against the Mohawk. A young Mohawk warrior had slaughtered several Micmac in an earlier raid which had, however, been carried out against the advice of the Mohawk elders. This is said to have inspired the Micmac leader's war cry and, in turn, the naming of the area.

A variant of this legend may be found in Rand (1894) and was accepted as plausible by Hoffman (1955a:568). Its popularity at the Reserve is partly due to Father Pacifique, who repeated it in his *Etudes Historiques* . . . ; a briefer but more edifying version is printed in the pamphlet distributed at the monastery, according to which "The word Ristigouche . . . suggests the idea of 'obedience to your father'."

Pacifique, of course, knew perfectly well that the Micmac term for the southwest branch of the Miramichi River (in New Brunswick) was *lEstigujic*, 'little Restigouche' (or, in his alphabet, *Listogotjitig*). This fact alone would make the legend highly questionable. But in addition, Mechling (1917:1) reports: "The Malecites call themselves Wulasatukwiak which means 'dwellers on the beautiful river.' They call the St. John River Wulastiguk — beautiful river. . ." (The former term is confirmed by Speck, 1915:494).

The similarity of roots is unmistakable: 1-st-k/g. One possible interpretation, therefore, is that Restigouche is a Malecite word for which a false etymology has been found. But another bit of evidence makes this, too, rather unlikely: Pacifique gives the following Micmac term (without translation) for the St. John River: *Alostog*. My Restigouche informant did not know this or any other term for the Saint John; his best approximation for

'beautiful river' was the literal phrase *wlgwasamu:k sipu*. But for *alostog* he offered the glosses 'flashing' or 'mirage.' Now, *-uc* is a fairly common ending for place names. When we recall that Cartier called the body of water into which the Restigouche empties the Baie des *Chaleurs*, or 'heat waves,' and that mirages are commonly reported on its waters, it becomes increasingly probable that the name 'Restigouche' signifies something like 'place where it flashes.' I further suggest that this term was originally applied to the entire area and only later limited to the river and settlement, and that it is cognate with the Malecite word which has been translated 'beautiful river.'

II. THE CAMPBELLTON FIRE

The fire which in 1910 devastated the town of Campbellton, N.B., has formed the basis of tales told on many Micmac reserves (cf. Wallis and Wallis, 1955:479-80). I present here a version obtained from the Chief at Restigouche in 1961:

You know, in the old days, the Indians and the white people in Campbellton didn't get along . . . if some Indian boys went over there after dark they might get beaten up and the same if the white boys came over here. Now there was one time when some Micmac from another band in Nova Scotia — they called them *wEdEc* Indians — came up to Campbellton, and there was one of them who had I guess you'd call it supernatural power. Well, these Indians asked some white people for some water to drink and they wouldn't give them any, so this man said "Someday you'll wish you had some water and there won't be enough." It wasn't long after that when the whole city burned down; the fire just went through all the houses and stores and everything except it went around one house that belonged to a man who had always been kind to the Indians. All the white people came across the river to get away from the fire and the Indians here put them up for two, three weeks because all the houses were burned down. After that, and even today, there isn't any trouble between the Indians and the whites, and I think the whites are still ashamed of how they acted.

There are several interesting elements in this version. Hoffman (1955*b*) has identified the *kwEdEc* as the Laurentian Iroquois, though most historians and some Micmac believe it indicates the Mohawk, who are also traditional, powerful enemies. In this tale, the use of the term to denote 'strange, powerful Micmac' is intriguing. In a retelling of the tale, the man with supernatural powers was described as small, dark-skinned, and ugly. This fits the Restigouche stereotype of the Nova Scotia Micmac as hostile, unpleasant, and (according to some informants) potent witches. The strange Indian was said to have spoken to Sugarloaf Mountain in causing the fire, and the notion that this is a mysterious place remains. (In some legends it is the abode of Gluskap.)

According to one student of the fire (William Clark, pers. comm.), the residents of Campbellton did not cross the river, but foolishly backed up to Sugarloaf Mountain to watch the blaze. In any case, the psychological function of this tale is quite evident and may well account for its survival.

III. GINAP TALES AND BUOIN

The concept of the *ginap* (*kinAp*) is discussed by Wallis and Wallis, and they relate a number of tales in which it appears. Their opinion that "A

ginap is a very strong person who does not necessarily possess any other extraordinary power . . . his power is never evil" (1955:156) agrees with most of the tales I collected. One informant said that the Indian who caused the Campbellton Fire (*see* above) was a *ginap*, but the rest of the tales centre on physical strength. I shall relate a series of anecdotes about a *ginap* named 'Little Gabriel,' to give an indication of the nature of these tales.

(a) One time Gabriel was over in Campbellton and he got real mad: some of those fellows gave him some drinks and then they mocked him — made fun of him. He got so angry he nearly tore the whole town up. They were all afraid of him.

(b) Another time he was working with a crew of Indians on the railroad: there was another crew of French working near there and one of them was pretty strong. He picked up a big boulder and threw it over by the Indians: but Gabriel, he picked it up and threw it back twice as far.

(c) Over in Campbellton, a fellow who had a store there told Gabriel he could have a big pork barrel if he could carry it off. Gabriel just put it on his shoulder and took it home. (Cf. Wallis and Wallis, 1955:376, tale No. 59.)

(d) Another time a fellow came down from the mountain with a big sled full of hard wood — maple it was, real heavy, hard for a horse to pull. Gabriel said to him, 'I need some wood.' The fellow said, 'Sure, take all you need.' So after he went in the house, Gabriel took the whole sled and carried it off. When the fellow came out of his house he didn't know where the wood went.

Another man called a *ginap* was one 'Little Philip,' though his attributes seem more similar to those of the *buoin*. He was said to have predicted all the things that were to come: wars, airplanes, steamboats, and so on, but no one would listen to him. Later, when they saw these things, they realized that he had been right.

In general, the concept of the *buoin* (the aboriginal term for shaman) seems to have become assimilated with that of the European witch. The tales I collected all showed European influence, as, e.g., the familiar one of the 'churn that wouldn't make butter' until the witch had been appeased. According to the Wallises (1955:156 ff.), *buoin* also, at one time, denoted a kind of impersonal power which might be manifested in many ways.

IV. THE DWARFS (BUGULADAMUC)

These tiny figures have also become assimilated to European models and, to some extent, to the creations of Walt Disney. The home of the *buguladamuc* is said to be the mountains near Carleton, P.Q., and eroded cliffs of the mountains are said to be 'where the dwarfs slide down.' A song fragment concerning them has the text: "*Buguladamuc*, back-on-the-mountains, I hear them singing."

Some call them 'fairies' or 'little devils,' and disclaim belief. But a number of European fairy tales have become associated with them, such as that of the 'little girl picking flowers who was taken away to inside a mountain.' They have acquired the gremlin-like attributes of the French *lutins* and, like them, are said to braid or tangle the tails and manes of horses during the night (cf. Roy, 1955:111-112). On other occasions, domestic animals are found 'all lathered up' in the morning, as though someone (or something) had

been riding them hard. One young, educated man told of such troubles with a horse he had owned. The pranks ended when holy water and blessed palm leaves (from Palm Sunday) were placed in the barn.

V. FOLK MEDICINE

In this area, too, aboriginal and European elements have mixed to a degree where they can be separated only with difficulty. Several recent practitioners of folk medicine appear to have been French women married into the Band. Most of my information came from one person, and I shall reproduce here only details of the more interesting practices and beliefs not mentioned by Wallis and Wallis (1955:127-134).

(a) crushed cedar boughs — mashed between two pieces of iron, tied in cloth and applied to the afflicted part — most effective for headache — 'not a dope . . . it just takes the pain out.'

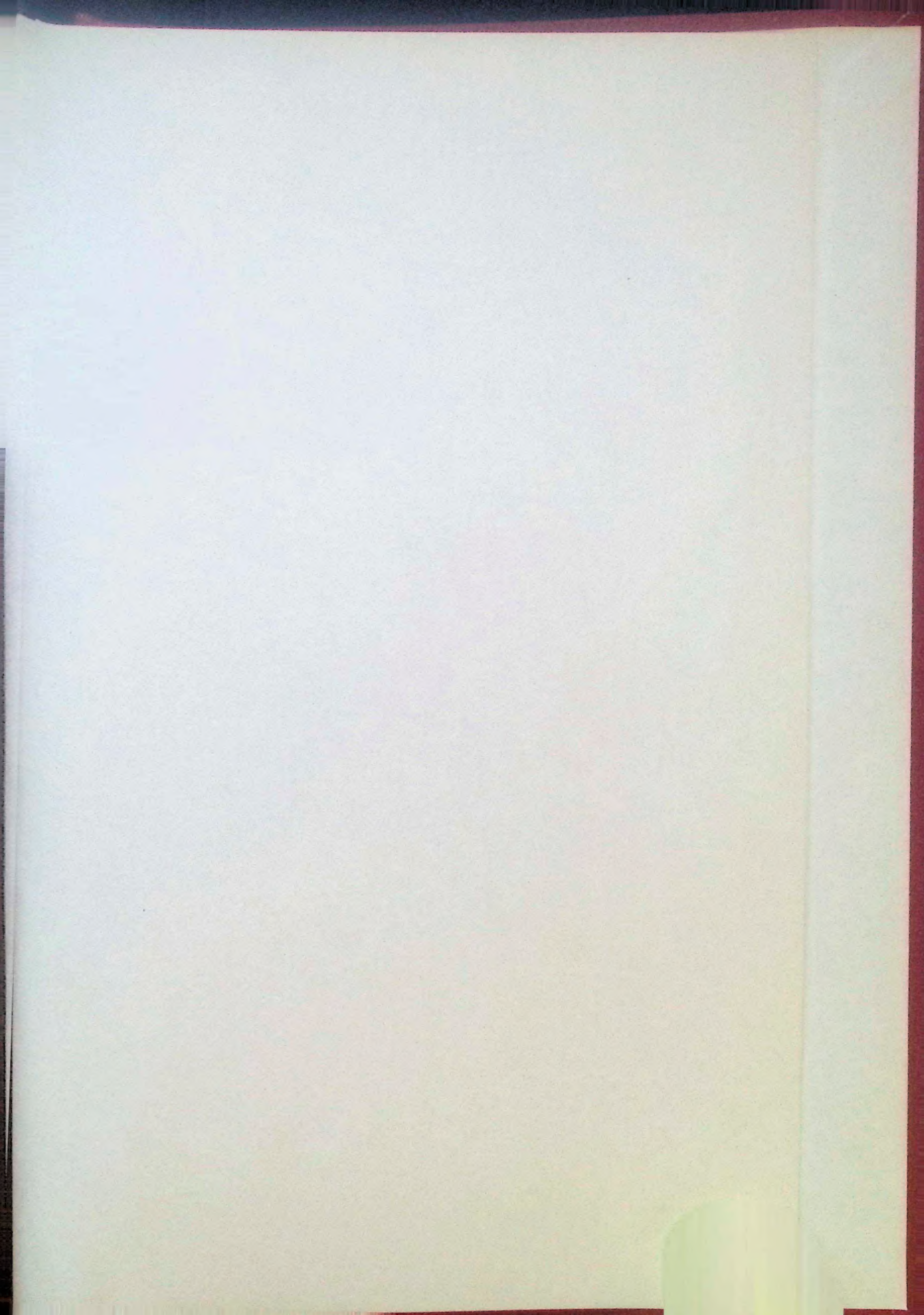
(b) *pIknIkcic*, 'small hands' — so called because the roots of the plant are long and intertwined, resembling many small hands — tasteless when boiled in water, but extremely effective in the treatment of diarrhoea.

(c) *bago:zi* (water-lily root) — good for colds or the grippe. Must be gathered in early fall because 'it is poisonous in spring and summer.' The kind that grows in the lake is weak — the variety which grows on land is much stronger. It is cut or grated into small pieces and steeped in boiling water for 3-4 hours. Before drinking, about one tablespoon of alcohol (usually gin) is added . . . the medicine 'follows the alcohol into the body.' It is best to go to sleep after drinking the infusion.

(d) *kikwazawask*, 'flag root' — effective for the treatment of pneumonia, pleurisy, or other lung ailments. Can produce cure in 24-48 hours if used soon enough; but can be extremely dangerous if not used immediately or with proper precautions. Directions: grate about a tablespoon of the root into a cup of boiling water and steep for one-half hour. Then add one part gin to three parts of the infusion. Drink the mixture and get right into bed under heavy blankets. It will make you sweat for about four hours; to get chilled during this stage of the treatment would mean sure death. When the sweating stops, change clothes under the blankets and stay under them, preferably sleeping, until cooled off; the lungs will then be clear. This medicine and *bago:zi* are also good to chew while out in the cold weather.

(e) Labrador leaves — also adopted by the local French-Canadians: brewed into a tea, are said to be beneficial for asthma or the common cold.

(f) Bloodletting — had been practised by old Micmac men for 'bad blood' and general sickness: 'The old fellas could tell when the bad stuff came out.' No one admits to practising this today; but one 'progressive' Indian explained his contributions to a Red Cross blood bank with the belief that getting rid of blood three or four times a year made him 'stronger and healthier.'



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John Long

